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TRANSACTIONS

AND

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

EDITED BY

JOSEPH WILLIAM HEWITT

SECRETARY OF THE ASSOCIATION

VOLUME LX

1929

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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

1929

I.—*The Preludes to Plato's Laws*

LEVI ARNOLD POST

HAVERFORD COLLEGE

The evidence of the Platonic *Epistles* for the dating of the dialogues of Plato has not yet been fully exploited. In a previous article I showed that two passages of the seventh *Epistle* throw light on the composition of the *Republic*.[1] In the present paper I propose to discuss the composition of the *Laws* in the light of that and other *Epistles*. To be sure there are some scholars who do not accept the seventh *Epistle* as the work of Plato. They are, however, a decreasing minority and they have not presented for their view any evidence to meet the abundant arguments that have recently appeared on the other side. The same thing is true in varying degree of the other important Platonic *Epistles*. It is, however, only the letters to Dionysius and to Dion's friends that throw any light on Plato's literary activity. In this paper I shall use the evidence of *Epistles* 3 and 7, and to a slight extent of 2 and 13. This method is sufficiently scientific, for in science, when two hypotheses are equally plausible, the truth of one is often established by evidence of its productivity. If the assumption that it is true clears up difficulties in other fields, that very fact affords evidence of its truth. Just so the hypothesis that the Platonic *Epistles* are genuine gains and deserves to gain credence in proportion to its fruitfulness in results. Here then

[1] *Classical Weekly*, XXI (1927), 41–44.

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I propose to see what fruit it will produce in regard to the composition of the *Laws*.

There is a direct statement of Plato's about the composition of the *Laws* in *Epistle* 3, 316 A. In this epistle, which was written shortly after Dion's expedition in 357 B.C., Plato informs the public in a letter addressed to Dionysius, that the charge is untrue that he was at one time in complete control at Syracuse and that Dionysius was ready to do whatever he wished, so that it was Plato's own fault if his ideas were not put into action. He asserts that he took but little part in the government aside from the fair amount of attention that he gave to the preludes of the laws: *σὺ δ' αὐτὸς οἶσθα σαφέστατα τῶν πολιτικῶν ἐμὲ σοὶ κοινῇ πραγματευσάμενον ἐκόντα ὀλίγα δὴ κατ' ἀρχάς, ὅτε τι πλέον ποιεῖν ἂν ᾠήθην, ἄλλα τε βραχέα ἄττα καὶ περὶ τὰ τῶν νόμων προοίμια σπουδάσαντα μετρίως χωρὶς ὧν σὺ προσέγραψας ἤ τις ἕτερος. ἀκούω γὰρ ὕστερον ὑμῶν τινας αὐτὰ διασκευωρεῖν, δῆλα μὴν ἑκάτερα ἔσται τοῖς τὸ ἐμὸν ἦθος δυναμένοις κρίνειν.* With regard to the text there can be little doubt that *περὶ τὰ* is the correct reading as against the *τὰ περὶ* of A. O's agreement with A is of no consequence, since O is copied from A. The marginal note of O^4, however, gives *περὶ τὰ* with the note that all copies, including the patriarch's book, have that reading. Now O^4 was a careful editor who belonged to the tenth, or at latest, eleventh, century, and who doubtless had access to many manuscripts of equal or greater authority than A. The reading of A may accordingly be dismissed as a scribal error. It is the preludes *to* the laws, not about the laws, that we have to do with.

Given the reading of A, we should naturally suppose, as all editors do, that Plato is referring here to the preludes of particular laws, which the Athenian stranger proposes (*Laws*, IV, 719–723) to prefix to each chapter of his legislation. Preludes of this sort are scattered through books VI–XII of the *Laws*. The reading that I adopt does not exclude this interpretation, but it does open the way to two other possibilities. In the first place there is a prelude to the consti-

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tutional enactments of the *Laws*, which appears and is so designated in book V (see 734 E). This is, however, but one prelude, and the singular number is used in the mention of it. Still we must bear in mind the possibility that it may be one of the preludes referred to in *Epistle* 3.

Last but most important, it should be noted that at *Laws*, IV, 722 C, D, practically the whole of the first four books of the *Laws* is referred to by the Athenian stranger as preludes to the laws: *σχεδὸν γὰρ ἐξ ὅσου περὶ τῶν νόμων ἤργμεθα λέγειν ἐξ ἐωθινοῦ μεσημβρία τε γέγονε καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ παγκάλῃ ἀναπαύλῃ τινὶ γεγόναμεν, οὐδὲν ἄλλ' ἢ περὶ νόμων διαλεγόμενοι, νόμους δὲ ἄρτι μοι δοκοῦμεν λέγειν ἄρχεσθαι, τὰ δ' ἔμπροσθεν ἦν πάντα ἡμῖν προοίμια νόμων.* Here we have, I believe, the right clue to Plato's meaning in *Epistle* 3 and consequently a clue to the circumstances under which the early books of the *Laws* were composed. This is *a priori* the most plausible theory. The investigation of *clausulae* by L. Billig[2] indicates what in any case was to be expected, that the first two books of the *Laws* were composed before the rest. Since then no one supposes that any part of the *Laws* was written before Plato's Syracusan visit in 367, we arrive at the hypothesis that Plato was writing the introductory books of the *Laws* at Syracuse in the years 367 and 366.

It may possibly be objected that the reference in *Epistle* 3 is ambiguous and might refer to the period of Plato's second visit in 361. Any such ambiguity seems, however, to be excluded by the statement, first, that Plato's work on the preludes was the chief part of his partnership with Dionysius (316 A), and secondly, that this partnership ended with the expulsion of Dion in 367 (316 D). He still hoped, of course, for the return of Dion and doubtless continued from time to time to add to the *Laws*. It is clear then that the *Laws* were begun in 367.

Between Plato's first and second visits to Dionysius the Younger about five years elapsed. During this time Plato

[2] "Clausulae and Platonic Chronology," *Journ. Phil.* XXXV (1920), 254.

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corresponded with Dionysius, sent him copies of his works, recommended teachers to him, and gave him explanations of difficult points. Dionysius was an apt pupil and Plato was at last induced to give him the opportunity to prove his zeal for reform. When Plato arrived again in Syracuse in 361, he insisted on two things, first that Dion should be brought back from exile, and secondly that Dionysius should not embark on a project of reform until he had undergone a severe course of training (*Epistle* 7, 340 B–341 A). Dionysius had made so much progress in his studies that Plato actually gave him on one occasion an exposition of his fundamental doctrines (345 A). After this it did not take Plato long to discover that Dionysius was not yet ready to renounce pleasure for wisdom, and he was completely and finally disillusioned. After Plato's departure in 360 Dionysius made use of the lesson he had had from Plato and of some of the material that he found in the preludes to the laws and published what purported to be an original contribution to philosophy (*Epistle* 3, 316 A; 7, 341 B). He may of course have published two separate works. Still it seems more likely that there was only one work of Dionysius and that this was at the same time a rehash of the *prooimia* to the laws and an exposition of Plato's fundamental philosophy. It is obvious that the philosophic discussions of the earlier books of the *Laws* would lend themselves much more appropriately to such a combination than would the preludes to the several laws scattered through books VI–XII. This is a suggestion, however, rather than an argument.

The direct evidence of the Platonic *Epistles* accordingly indicates that Plato began writing the *Laws*, beginning with book I, at Syracuse in the year 367, and that a considerable portion of the *Laws*, probably about four books, was in Dionysius' hands after the year 360. The current view as to the date of composition of the *Laws* is very different from this. It is commonly stated that 356 B.C. is the *terminus post quem* for the *Laws* because of a supposed reference in book I to Dionysius' seizure of the citadel of Locri at some time after

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that date. It is also supposed that the first external reference to the *Laws* occurs in Isocrates, *Philippus*, 12, and that this is accordingly a *terminus ante quem* for their publication. I believe that the *terminus ante quem* can be fixed six years earlier at the date of publication of the *Antidosis* of Isocrates in 353, and that the supposed *terminus post quem* will not survive scrutiny.

The reference to Locri occurs at *Laws*, I, 638 A, B: *αἱ μείζους τὰς ἐλάττους πόλεις νικῶσιν μαχόμεναι καὶ καταδουλοῦνται, Συρακόσιοι μὲν Λοκρούς, οἳ δὴ δοκοῦσιν εὐνομώτατοι τῶν περὶ ἐκεῖνον τὸν τόπον γεγονέναι, Κείους δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι.* This is supposed to refer to Dionysius' seizure of the citadel of Locri, which is mentioned in Justin, XXI, 2, 9. A little consideration of the passage shows, however, that Plato is not referring to any particular conquest. He uses the present tense, and the Cean parallel illustrates his meaning. Ceos was independent of Athens at intervals, but whenever Athens controlled the seas, she also controlled Ceos. Both were in name allies but in fact subjects. Doubtless in both cases there were skirmishes and defeats that were too unimportant to be mentioned by historians. Certainly the argument from silence would be extraordinarily weak here. Furthermore there is one anecdote (Plut. *Timoleon*, 6) that makes it clear that Dionysius the Elder was supreme in Locri exactly as in Syracuse. Nor need it be doubted that some display of force occurred in his time that would go far to justify Justin's expression *Locris expugnatis* (XX, 5, 1). Moreover, at the time when Dionysius the Younger occupied the citadel of Locri, he was not acting for Syracuse. He was not in control of Syracuse, and his soldiers were not Syracusans but mercenaries. It was not, properly speaking, a conquest of Locrians by Syracusans at all, especially if we note that the occupation of the citadel took place two years after Dionysius had surrendered his last foothold in Syracuse. For Oldfather has shown [3] that this action must be assigned to the year 352 B.C. Now to suppose that Plato began to write the *Laws* after

[3] *A.J.P.* XLIV (1923), 275–276.

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352 is a heroic remedy to which we might have recourse if there were no other possibility. As a matter of fact there is no difficulty. This passage simply affords no *terminus post quem* at all, and the supposition that it does will not bear scrutiny.

We turn now to the question of a *terminus ante quem.* Isocrates refers in the *Philippus* (12), written in 346, to *τοῖς νόμοις καὶ πολιτείαις ταῖς ὑπὸ τῶν σοφιστῶν γεγραμμέναις*, the legislation of professors which never goes into effect. Plato may be referred to here, but the expression sounds like a commonplace, and might apply equally well to the work of others. If Isocrates had originated the thought, and if he was here enunciating it for the first time, he could hardly have resisted the temptation to elaborate on it at some length. Isocrates is not concerned with Plato elsewhere in the *Philippus.* In the *Antidosis,* however, published in 353, Isocrates alludes to Plato and to his activity several times. His assertion that the philosophy which can really make men virtuous does not exist (258–269) is pretty obviously directed at Plato and had a particular point just after the violent acts, first of Dion, then of Callippus. There seems to be a reference to Plato's famous public lecture on the Good in *Antidosis,* 148. Again in Isocrates' praise of Timotheus there is more than one side-glance at Dion's defects. Compare *Antidosis,* 127, with Plato's thrice-repeated assertion in the seventh *Epistle* (327 D, 331 D, 351 C) that his program and Dion's was one of bloodless reform. I have discussed elsewhere [4] the question of a connection between the *Antidosis* of Isocrates and the seventh *Epistle* of Plato.

Accordingly when Isocrates in *Antidosis,* 79–83, belittles the writing of laws we have a right to suppose that he is referring to Plato's work. Plato evidently supposed so, for we have his rejoinder in *Epistle* 7, 344 C, where he points out that the writing of laws is not for him really the most impor-

[4] In my *Thirteen Epistles of Plato* (Oxford, 1925), pp. 58–61. Hackforth in *Class. Rev.*, XL, 124, and Harward in *Class. Quart.*, XXII, 154, have expressed agreement with my contention that the two works bear some relation to each other.

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tant undertaking: *ἐνὶ δὴ ἐκ τούτων δεῖ γιγνώσκειν λόγῳ, ὅταν ἴδῃ τίς του συγγράμματα γεγραμμένα εἴτε ἐν νόμοις νομοθέτου εἴτε ἐν ἄλλοις τισὶν ἄττ' οὖν, ὡς οὐκ ἦν τούτῳ ταῦτα σπουδαιότατα εἴπερ ἔστ' αὐτὸς σπουδαῖος, κεῖται δέ που ἐν χώρᾳ τῇ καλλίστῃ τῶν τούτου.* These references are singly clearer than that of the *Philippus*, and taken together as confirming each other they afford strong evidence that the legislative part of the *Laws*, books VI–XII, had appeared in some form before 353. This makes it even more impossible to suppose that the early books were written after 352.

It is unnecessary to discuss here the view that Philip of Opus carried out any substantial revision of the *Laws* after Plato's death. He probably did a small amount of copying and arranging, but the *Laws* were evidently in circulation in some form before Plato's death. Plato would have written more had he lived, and he might have revised, but large parts of the *Laws* assuredly had reached their final state. It is probable that Plato's interest in the *Laws* grew less and less as reports from Sicily became more and more discouraging.

It is now in point to subject this hypothesis, that Plato wrote the first four books of the *Laws* while his relations with Dionysius were still friendly, to such tests as can be applied. It might be expected that some stylistic test would be applicable, but, while it is abundantly evident from such tests that *Timaeus*, *Critias*, *Sophistes*, *Politicus*, *Philebus*, and *Laws* belong to one group, no test has yet been discovered that can be used with any certainty to distinguish comparative dates within this group. There is slightly less avoidance of hiatus in *Laws* and *Philebus* than in the other works of Plato's last period, but this may mean no more than that they were not subjected to quite the same degree of polishing. It may, however, mean that they are somewhat later, and this would accord well with the results of Billig's work on the *clausulae*. His figures may be used to divide Plato's later works into three groups, the first containing *Timaeus* and *Sophistes*, the second *Politicus* and books I and II of the *Laws*, the third, *Philebus*

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and the remaining books of the *Laws*. This would again accord well with the theory that *Timaeus* and *Sophistes*, which contain no obvious reference to Dionysius, were composed before 367, that the *Politicus*, which probably has one or two such references, was completed in 367, that the first two books of the *Laws* were written later in that year, and that the *Philebus* and the remainder of the *Laws* belong to a still later period. This also accords with Christ's [5] theory that *Sophistes*, *Politicus*, and *Timaeus* are referred to in *Epistle* 13, 360 B (366 B.C.). Other stylistic evidence is sufficiently in harmony with these conclusions, which are somewhat, but I hope not unduly, speculative. I do not believe that Plato was too busy to write during his Syracusan visits. He had only too much time on his hands at Syracuse, and he had the greatest possible stimulus to writing in the hope that Dionysius might be influenced and through him the whole world.

Certainly the closing argument of the *Politicus* (306–311), to the effect that the statesman must bring about concord in the state by forcing the two classes of citizens, the courageous and the sober, to intermarry, sounds like a hint to Dionysius in regard to a problem that would at once have become acute if Syracuse had been established as a free state. Arrangements would have had to be made for the large body of mercenaries who formed the backbone of Dionysius' power. Plato suggests that where two classes exist, one so courageous that they tend to be violent, and the other so sober that they tend to be slavish, their respective traits should be neutralized by intermarriage. There cannot have been many other states, if any, where similar conditions existed. The problem certainly existed at Syracuse. Plato was prepared to advise the ruler of Syracuse between the years 367 and 361. Hence it is likely that the *Politicus* was written at this time.

The *Philebus* belongs to much the same period. The characters of the dialogue have names that are transparent. Philebus, who believes that pleasure is the good, and who

[5] In *Abh. d. bayr. Akad.* (*Phil.-hist. Klasse*), XVII (1885), 477 ff.

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takes no part in the discussion, is Philistus, who at Syracuse defeated Plato in the contest for Dionysius' allegiance by appealing to the latter's weakness for pleasure. Again, Protarchus is an appropriate name for the young monarch Dionysius. This view would occur to anyone reading the *Philebus* with the Syracusan situation in mind; the most thorough-going exposition of it is that of Eberz,[6] who points out many corroborative details in the dialogue, and with whom I am in agreement. I am unable to accept the view that the *Philebus* was written on an academic subject for an Academic audience. Plato's published works were written for outsiders, and he seldom wrote without a Socratic purpose, the purpose of making his hearers give heed to the soul and its welfare, whether in the field of ethics or in that of politics. Dionysius needed to be convinced that pleasure is not the most important thing in life; the Academy presumably did not. If it did, it might well have expected a less popular and more technical exposition of the subject. I think it probable that by the year 361 Plato had completed his writings except for the last eight books of the *Laws*, in whole or in part, and the genuine *Epistles*, apart from 2, 5, and 13, supposing all these to be genuine.

The foregoing statement in regard to the date of these works is merely intended to make my position clear before I take up the question whether internal evidence indicates that the early books of the *Laws* were composed with Dionysius and his needs in mind. The first two books of the *Laws* are concerned with the subject of education, in particular, education in the two virtues of courage and sobriety. There is also a long excursus on the use of wine, which begins with the paradoxical suggestion that revels may have their use, and ends with the enactment of prohibitory laws for many classes of citizens at all times and for all classes at some times. Scholars have wondered why a discussion of education should form the introduction to the constitutional and legislative parts of the

[6] *Über den Philebos des Platon* (Würzburg, 1902).

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Laws, especially when education in general and some of the same features in particular are dealt with in the ordinary course in book VII. The clue is to be found in the situation of Dionysius in 367. He was quite without education and needed to realize this lack and the necessity of correcting it, before he took up the reins of government or embarked on a project of reform. Plato describes the situation in *Epistle* 7, 331 D–333 A. In particular he points out (332 D) that it was unsafe to tell Dionysius openly that he needed education and discipline; it was necessary to convey the truth in hints by laying down the law for rulers in general. Compare also *Epistle* 3, 319 A–C, where a scene is described in which Plato's hint to Dionysius that he needed education was a little too plain and evidently gave offense.

It is at once clear that education comes first in the *Laws* because Plato had to convey to Dionysius indirectly the lesson that he himself could not hope to govern a state properly until he had learned to control himself and until he had received an adequate education. The most striking reference to his case is in book I, 644 B, where Plato asserts that, supposing a man to be deficient in education, and supposing him to have an opportunity of supplying the lack, such a man should labor all his life to gain the training he has missed. It is difficult to see for whom Plato could have intended this admonition if not for Dionysius.

It is not difficult to find many other pointed references to Dionysius' deficiencies and problems. Cleinias' statement at 626 E, that a man may be at war with himself and κρείττων αὐτοῦ or the opposite, looks like such a hint to Dionysius to become self-controlled. Again, in 627 E we read that the best legislator is the one who, when a city is at war with itself, enacts laws that induce the factions to become united and friendly. This fits the case of Syracuse with its citizens kept in subjection by means of a huge army of foreign mercenaries. Compare what was said above about the ending of the *Politicus*. In 628 A, B we read that the wise lawgiver should be more alert to guard

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against internal than against external warfare. This refers again to the mercenaries, who were of course intended to meet external attack. Plato points out that they were at the same time the cause of strife within the city. In 630 A–C he points the moral that courage alone, such as mercenaries have—bold, dishonest, lawless, and insensate as they are—is not enough; the lawgiver must inculcate in his citizens not only one but all the virtues, so that there may not be war within the state. The lawgiver must aim first at righteousness, the greatest of the virtues. Now in *Epistle* 7, 348 A, B, Plato describes a mutiny that occurred among the mercenaries in 361 or 360 because of a decrease in the pay of the older men. The blame for this was laid on Heracleides, the democratic leader, who at once went into exile and later became Dion's rival. Evidently it was part of the reform program to undermine the power of the mercenaries and eventually to do away with them. Dion's maintenance of mercenaries after his capture of Syracuse in 357 was one of the counts against him.

When Plato proceeds to discuss courage (633 D–634 B), he points out that the courage that makes a man superior to pleasure is more important than the courage that makes him face danger. This leads to a discussion of sobriety, and Megillus boasts that Sparta's elimination of symposia and of drunkenness makes her superior to other states (637 A, B). Here (638 C–E) the Athenian stranger makes a few remarks on methods. One must not argue that a custom is right because it is universally practised, nor yet because those who practise it win victories. The victories may be due to advantage of numbers and size, like the enslavement of Locri by Syracuse. We come now to the long discussion of drunkenness and its uses, which many scholars have considered intrusive (book I, 639 A–book II, 674 C). In the course of this the importance of education is stressed more than once (641 C; 644 A, B), and in particular the importance of educating the young not to judge of the excellence of a thing by the pleasure or pain that it causes (653 A, C; 659 D–660 A). The thesis is emphasized that

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the good life is really the pleasant one (662 B–663 D). It is pointed out that drinking bouts should be permitted only as a test of self-control for the young under supervision (649 B–650 B), or as an aid to the old to enable them to take part in solemn dances (666 A–C). At last we find Plato, who began by challenging the Spartan law against drunkenness and, in appearance at least, seeming to see good in revelry, coming to the conclusion at the end of the second book that wine should be prohibited to soldiers, to slaves, to jurymen and officials, to all by day, to those about to marry by night, and under many other circumstances to many other classes. It is clear that Plato has been leading up all along to this condemnation of wine, and has chosen this roundabout method in order to conceal his purpose and to entice the unsuspecting drunkard into hearing a sermon on temperance.

Among his remarks on the importance of proper education Plato twice asserts the importance of a correct taste in music, dancing, and entertainment generally (654 A–656 B; 667 B–670 C). That Dionysius needed such a sermon on drunkenness is abundantly proved by Plutarch's statement (*Dion*, 7) that he was once drunk every day for three months, and that Plato was for that reason unable to secure his attention. Dionysius' need of education has been mentioned. Evidence of his weakness for pleasure and for flatterers is found in *Epistle* 3, 315 C, 316 D, 317 C, D. We can easily believe that his taste in music and dancing was not Plato's.

The first two books of the *Laws* then, with their curious sequence of discourse, are perfectly explicable as a sermon from Plato to Dionysius, couched in general terms, but deriving its significance from its adaptation to Dionysius and his needs. Viewed in this light the two books cease to be the compilation of irrelevant fragments that some scholars have implied that they were. At the close of book II an abrupt end is put to the discussion of wine by the enactment of some pretty sweeping prohibitions, and a new subject is taken up, the question why states rise and fall. Book III contains Plato's

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maturest political observation and is full of allusions to the Syracusan situation. It is a complete and finished treatise in itself, and is stylistically very close to the *Philebus* and to book IV of the *Laws*. It is perhaps not too bold to suggest that the sudden transition at the end of book II may be the mark of a sudden change in Plato's relations to Dionysius, perhaps that produced by the expulsion of Dion from Syracuse four months after Plato's arrival. Certainly in books III and IV we find hints that two rulers are better than one, which are to be explained as suggestions to Dionysius to induce him to recall Dion. It is clear from subsequent events, as well as from Plutarch's *Life of Dion* and from *Epistles* 13 (366 B.C.) and 2 (363 B.C.), that Plato never entirely gave up hope of converting Dionysius until the second visit to his court. He even began to think that Dionysius might have decided to take up philosophy seriously. He explains one difficulty for him in the second *Epistle* (312 D–313 A). It is quite likely that books III and IV of the *Laws* were substantially written in this period, as well as the *Philebus*. At what period the later books of the *Laws* were written I do not presume to guess.

The subject matter of book III is exactly the instruction that Plato and Dion had tried to impress upon Dionysius in 367, namely the proper policy for preserving a state (*Epistle* 7, 332 D: *οὕτω μὲν πᾶς ἀνὴρ αὐτόν τε καὶ ἐκείνους ὧν ἂν ἡγεμὼν γίγνηται σώσει*). Plato points out in *Laws*, III, 684 B, the advantage of mutual support among states. According to *Epistle* 7, 332 E, this particular advice was given to Dionysius. The value of such a system against the barbarians is asserted both in the *Laws* (685 A–D) and in *Epistle* 7 (333 A). The remarks about the great possibilities of political achievement that may go unrealized if rulers are stupid (*Laws*, III, 686 C–E), that about the importance of guiding one's wishes and prayers by intelligence (687 E), and the statement that folly ruins states, might well be intended to stimulate Dionysius' desire for education and achievement in statesmanship.

Plato further explains (689 A, B) that the worst folly is

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that of the man who recognizes the right but yields to pleasure, exactly Dionysius' state of character. Again, it is said (689 D) that the man whose desires do not harmonize with his reason is sure to ruin his city instead of preserving it. This agrees once more with the statement of *Epistle* 7, 332 D. At *Laws*, III, 691 A, lack of harmony between states is said to be apparent wisdom but real folly. The sarcastic reference to the wisdom of Dionysius the Elder points the application of this generalization to Sicilian affairs (*Epistle* 7, 332 D). The statement of *Laws*, III, 691 C–D, that it is not in human nature for a young and absolute ruler not to become infected with folly, in such a way as to alienate his nearest friends, corresponds to the remarks about Dionysius the Elder's want of friends and his son's need of them in *Epistle* 7, 332 C, D. No one but Dionysius can be intended here. The following statement, that it was the salvation of Sparta, first to have two kings, second to have a senate, and third to have the ephorate as a check on the government, is a hint to Dionysius to accept Dion as an associate and to permit the introduction of constitutional government. The statements (*Laws*, III, 692 D–693 A) that it was disgraceful for one city alone to fight the barbarians applied much better to Syracuse than it did to Sparta. The fate of those parts of Greece where union did not prevent a barbarian conquest is then pictured, and again the parallel in *Epistle* 7, 333 A, points the application to Sicily.

At 694 A Plato begins to discuss the dangers to which monarchy is liable by divining (694 C) why the Persian monarchy perished under Cambyses and was restored by Darius. It is instructive that Plato's divinations about Cyrus and Cambyses, Darius and Xerxes, sound extraordinarily like an indictment of Dionysius and his father. Plato divines about Cyrus that he was an excellent and hard-working [7] general who had not even a smattering of proper education and had never given a thought to principles of administration.

[7] The reading of Athenaeus, φιλόπονον, is preferable from this point of view.

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He had spent his life in campaigning and had left the education of his children to the women, who completely spoiled them and gave them the upbringing that one might expect would be given by women who were new to wealth and queenship. Plato certainly knew nothing about the character of Cyrus' wives. We need not doubt that he has depicted Dionysius the Elder's. The contrast between Persian simplicity and Median luxury is a transposition of the usual comparison of Doric ruggedness with Sicilian effeminacy (*Epistle* 7, 336 C, D). When we hear next how one son slew the other and then went mad from drink and lack of proper training, we remember that Dionysius had expelled Dion and that he was in a fair way to be mad if drunkenness and lack of education could lead to such a result. We hear again (696 A) that the evil life of the sons of millionaires and despots prevents them from ever achieving excellence of character. In 697 C–D we have a tirade against Dionysius the Elder's policy of destroying cities, raiding friendly tribes, and accumulating wealth in defiance of right and honor. To be sure, he is not mentioned by name, but his policy is easily recognizable from the account of his activities that we find in Diodorus Siculus. Next (698 A–701 C) the case of Athens is discussed; extreme democracy is found to be as bad as extreme tyranny, and the corrupting influence of lawlessness in music is again traced. The book ends with a summary of the first three books and the mention of a project of colonization.

The fourth book of the *Laws*, since it takes up the actual problem of founding a colony and of giving it a constitution and laws, does not afford the opportunity for hints to Dionysius on his need of discipline and education that are provided in the first three books of the *Laws*. There is, however, one conspicuous passage (IV, 709 E) which has been supposed by Blass and others to refer to Dionysius. The lawgiver states the minimum requirement of favoring circumstance that will permit him to go on and administer a city properly. He must have a city governed by a tyrant who is at once young,

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retentive, intelligent, courageous, and endowed with a genius for great and spectacular undertakings (*νέος καὶ μνήμων καὶ εὐμαθὴς καὶ ἀνδρεῖος καὶ μεγαλοπρεπὴς φύσει*). These qualities are of course of no avail unless they are found in company with the necessary moral traits. (Cf. *Epistle* 7, 344 A.) Now Plato more than once summarizes Dionysius' qualifications for philosophy. According to Dion, writing in 367, quoted by Plato in *Epistle* 7, 328 A, a unique opportunity for philosophic direction of government was at that time presented, because Dionysius was young and exceedingly interested in philosophy and education.[8] From *Epistle* 7, 339 E, we learn that Dionysius was young and intelligent, and that Plato expected the project of reform to appeal to him because it was an achievement worthy of note, that is, one that would interest the *μεγαλοπρεπὴς φύσει*. These passages strengthen the opinion that Plato was referring to Dionysius in the fourth book of the *Laws*. It is impossible to find anyone else to whom they could refer. Hipparinus, who ruled Syracuse from 352 to 350, is too late to be intended here, and Plato's program for him is found in the eighth *Epistle*.

Plato's hopeful reference to a tyrant in this passage is unique, though in the *Politicus* he expresses approval of enlightened monarchy. In the later books of the *Laws* and in the later letters, as in the *Republic*, no court is paid to tyrants. Plato's disillusionment came on the occasion of his last visit to Syracuse in 361 (*Epistle* 7, 345 D; 3, 318 E), so that this part of book IV must be earlier than that. Besides the intelligent and virtuous tyrant one piece of luck is further needful; there must exist in his time a lawgiver who is worthy of the name and the two must be brought together (*Laws*, IV, 710 C, D). The suggestion that Dionysius needed Plato is quite clear. There is a parallel in the second *Epistle* (310 D–312 C) where Plato pointedly and at length warns Dionysius that the ruler must always pay court to the philosopher, if he is to receive credit

[8] Reading *σφοδράν* for *σφόδρα* in accordance with my suggestion in *A.J.P.* XLIX (1928), 91.

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for his acquaintance with philosophers, and that rulers who will not be guided by sages are pilloried forever in literature. The principle is further laid down (711 B) that a tyrant may easily reform the morals of his city if he will lead the way by making his own acts conform to the ideal which he wishes to establish. The most difficult requisite, if reform is to be achieved, is the implanting in a great power of a passion for habits of sobriety and righteousness (711 D). An equally difficult alternative would be the recurrence in later times of a character like Nestor's, who was at once eloquent and sober-minded. Nestor lived in the Trojan era; there is no one like that in our day, says Plato. However, if there is such a one in existence, blessed are those who are within hearing of the discourse that proceeds from those lips of sobriety (711 E). Plato is hinting here at the charm of his own discourse in praise of virtue. He puts the counterpart of this tribute to himself in the mouth of Dion in *Epistle* 7, 328 D: *δεόμενος . . . πειθοῦς, ᾗ σε μάλιστα ἐπιστάμην ἐγὼ δυνάμενον ἀνθρώπους νέους ἐπὶ τὰ ἀγαθὰ καὶ τὰ δίκαια προτρέποντα εἰς φιλίαν τε καὶ ἑταιρίαν ἀλλήλοις καθιστάναι ἑκάστοτε.*

Plato now enunciates his doctrine of the superiority of the mixed constitution, which is monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy in one (712 C–713 A). The unmixed constitutions are all despotisms, and their systems of law are not really law, since they aim not at justice but at the advantage of the stronger. Here we have Plato's maturest political thought, which definitely supersedes the views propounded in the *Republic*, as well as those of the *Politicus*. The myth of a golden age in the time of Cronos, which was related in the *Politicus*, reappears here (713 A–714 A), but with a clear exposition of its meaning. By the rule of the gods is meant the rule of law. We must imitate the life of Cronos' golden age by private and public obedience to our immortal part, reason, giving the name of law to the government of reason. We read incidentally (713 C) that it is not in human nature for an absolute ruler to avoid the contagion of lawlessness and

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unrighteousness. The practice of taking as the aim of law the perpetuation of the existing government establishes not a state but the domination of a faction (715 A, B). This is not inappropriate to the Syracusan situation, for the question at issue between Plato and his opponents was simply this: Ought such measures to be taken as would preserve the tyranny intact, or ought an attempt to be made to establish a state based on an ideal of justice for all?

Plato now (715 E–718 A) with a sudden transition gives an address on religion and piety to the assembled colonists. He inveighs against the godless youth who, in pride of power or wealth or birth or beauty, thinking that he needs no director but is capable of directing others, disregards law and becomes destitute of God, *i.e.* reason, takes to himself others like himself, and upsets everything with his antics (716 B). He is looked up to by many of a certain sort for a time, but before long he utterly ruins himself, his household, and his state. This may be Plato's *vaticinium ex eventu,* or it may be a prophecy uttered in opposition to those who predicted that Plato's measures would soon bring about the fall of the tyranny. There is a parallel to this description of Dionysius' attempts to govern in *Epistle* 3, 316 D: *τὸν δὲ ἄφρονα ὁρῶντι μετὰ πονηρῶν καὶ πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων καταλελειμμένον, οὐκ ἄρχοντα, οἰόμενον δ' ἄρχειν, ὑπὸ δὲ τοιούτων ἀνθρώπων ἀρχόμενον.* Here Plato is describing Dionysius' situation after the expulsion of Dion in 366 B.C., but he is writing ten years later. In fact it is not likely that Plato would have described Dionysius in such terms before the break in 361. The language of *Epistles* 13 and 2 (366 and 363 B.C.) is guardedly friendly to Dionysius, though this may be due to the fact that they are personal letters addressed to Dionysius himself. Still this tirade partakes so definitely of the hostile attitude of *Epistle* 3 that it is probably either a later addition to book IV, or else it marks the point in the composition of the *Laws* where Plato had definitely given up hope of reforming Dionysius.

Plato next (716 D–717 A) asserts that such a man cannot hope

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to be heard when he prays, no matter how rich his offerings may be, and then immediately plunges into a discourse on the duties of piety and religion (717 A–718 B). This leads to the question how such a discourse should be classified, and the topic of preludes to the laws is in full swing. This continues to the end of the book at 724 B. Two special preludes are actually given as specimens, the one just mentioned and one on marriage (721 B, D). From book IV, 715 E, where the prelude on religion begins, there are no very apparent references to Dionysius. Certainly there are none that imply the possibility of partnership between him and Plato.

Book V begins with another prelude to the laws, this time a general *prooimion* to the whole work of lawgiving, which extends from 726 E to 734 E. It is written in Plato's most august style and shows no sign of needing revision. It may be among the preludes to the laws which Plato composed for Dionysius. There is little to prove and nothing to preclude the truth of such a supposition. Such references as there are to the Sicilian situation might easily be reminiscent rather than contemporary comment. The exhortation to respect the rights of guests (729 E–730 A) would of course apply to Dionysius, whose guest and prisoner Plato was in 366 and again in 360. The picture of the disloyal man (730 C, D), who is solitary in his old age even in the midst of companions and children, is doubtless drawn from Dionysius the Elder. The reference to slanderers in 731 A recalls Plato's statement in *Epistle* 7, 329 B–C, 333 B–C, and in *Epistle* 3, 315 E, that slanderers did much to baffle his and Dion's plan of reform. The protest against punishment in anger (731 D) might apply to Dionysius. In *Epistle* 2, 314 E, Plato intercedes for a prisoner in the quarries at Syracuse. The sermon against selfishness in 731 E fits Dionysius' case as well as anyone's. Still there is nothing so far to indicate clearly that Plato is addressing Dionysius. Perhaps the following references are to be explained as personal to him: (1) The exhortation against self-conceit (732 A, B). The conceited man is unwilling

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to let others who are competent take charge, and by doing things himself, does them badly. (2) The exhortation not to be ashamed of pursuing a man better than oneself (732 B; cf. *Epistle* 2, 312 C). (3) The exhortation to avoid excessive laughter (732 C). (4) The discourse on true pleasure (732 D–734 E). Here ends the general *prooimion* to constitutional legislation. It is exactly the sort of exhortation to a young ruler that we have in Isocrates' address to Nicocles. It may well have been composed separately for the benefit of Dionysius and fitted later into its place in the *Laws*. There is, however, no really certain reference to Dionysius' situation from book IV, 715 E, to the end of the *Laws*.

Up to that point references to Sicilian affairs are well marked, and it is only through our knowledge of them that we can trace the motive of Plato's argument. Books I–III are a complete unit in themselves and end with a summary of their purpose. Book IV begins with a project of colonization such as Plato recommended to Dionysius, and there are passages in it that seem to be intended for him. When the actual work of drawing up a constitution and enacting laws begins in earnest (book V, 734 E), there are no longer any certain contemporary allusions to Dionysius. Form and subject are quite general. Thus it is only in books I–IV of the *Laws* that we find material which clearly shows evidence of its origin in preludes to laws written for Dionysius the Younger. In addition to these books it is, however, possible that the general prelude to legislation at the beginning of book V may also have been written for him.

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II.—*The Relationship of Hittite to Indo-European*

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Although there is now general agreement among scholars that Hittite is somehow related to the Indo-European languages, there is not yet any consensus of opinion as to the kind or degree of relationship. This hesitancy springs from the fact that Hittite does not conform to our preconceived idea of what an early Indo-European language should be. Hitherto we have found that in general the IE languages for which we have the earliest records are the ones which most clearly and closely resemble one another. If we had only the modern IE languages it would be difficult if not impossible to prove their relationship, but the resemblances between Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin are so strong, as Sir William Jones said in 1796, "that no philologer could examine them all three without believing them to have sprung from some common source." Now, although we have earlier written records for Hittite than for any of the previously known IE languages, its resemblance to them is so far disguised that scholars could for a time doubt its IE character. A few years previously Tocharian documents of the tenth century after Christ had come to light, and that language had at once been assigned to the IE family; but the Hittite documents of the fourteenth century B.C. gave rise to an acrimonious debate.

The Hittite verb system shows, in place of the complexity of the Indo-Iranian and the Greek verb, greater simplicity than the modern French verb. Only a small part of the Hittite vocabulary shows its IE character on the surface. The doctrine has got into the handbooks that most Hittite words are non-IE in origin, and, although that statement is certainly premature, it illustrates clearly enough the strangely exotic appearance of our Hittite texts.

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A widely assumed explanation of this state of affairs is that Hittite is a mixed language, with an inflectional system almost entirely IE, and vocabulary largely borrowed from the indigenous languages of Asia Minor. This theory ignores the extraordinary simplicity of the Hittite inflectional system, and the fact that, although etymological research upon the Hittite vocabulary has barely begun, a satisfactory IE etymology has already been discovered for many words which at first seemed quite hopeless. While Hittite, like Greek, doubtless contains many borrowed words, it is safe to say that the chief reasons for the strange appearance of the vocabulary are to be found in extensive phonetic change and in the imperfections of the cuneiform writing. Phonetic laws enable us to identify such dissimilar forms as *a-ru-ú-wa-a-iz-zi* 'he worships' and Greek **ἀρᾷ* (the missing active of *ἀρᾶται*) and *ha-pa-a-ti-iš* 'servant, vassal' with *ὀπηδός*.[1] The limitations of the cuneiform characters make necessary the writing of *ši-pa-an-ti* for *španti* '*σπενδει*' (a "perfect" form without reduplication, equivalent to a Greek **σπόνδε*), and of the nominative singular of the *nt*-participle with a non-phonetic final vowel, *e.g. hu-u-i-ya-an-za* = *huwiyants* '*iens, fugiens.*' It is quite possible that we shall find satisfactory IE etymologies for as large a proportion of the Hittite vocabulary as of the Greek.

There remains the possibility that the aberrant character of Hittite may be due to phonological and morphological development more rapid than that of the related languages. There is no known limit to the rapidity with which a language may change, particularly in a period of social and political commotion such as must have accompanied the Hittite invasion of eastern Asia Minor.

Nevertheless, the astonishing differences of Hittite from the ancient IE languages establish a certain presumption that it broke away from the parent stock at an earlier date, so that its divergent development began while the linguistic ancestors

[1] See *Lang.*, IV, 164.

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of the Hindus, Greeks, and Romans still constituted a single community.[2] The language which must in that case be assumed as the common ancestor of Primitive IE and Hittite, I have hitherto called "Pre-Indo-European"; but Bloomfield reminds me that this term is already in use to designate the entire linguistic period prior to our reconstructed IE forms, and that it cannot conveniently be restricted to a particular part of that period. I therefore propose the term Indo-Hittite (abbreviated IH) to indicate the language from which Primitive IE and Hittite sprang. It is the purpose of this paper to present proof that we must assume the existence of Indo-Hittite.

Peculiarly cogent is the presence of a sound in Hittite which has been lost by all the related languages. This sound is written by cuneiform signs which are usually transliterated *ḫa, ḫi, ḫu*, etc. (I shall omit the diacritic). It is not certainly known what phonetic value should be attached to these symbols; but the probabilities are that the consonant was more or less similar to the German *ach*-sound. The important point, however, is that where this sound is written in Hittite the cognate words in the other languages show no sound at all.[3] The following etymologies are enough to prove that this is so. Hittite *ešhar* 'blood' (an *r/n*-stem) = Greek ἔαρ, Skt. *asṛk*; Hittite *ešhaš* 'master' = Lat. *erus*;[3a] Hittite *hanta-* (in *hantezziš* 'first') = Greek ἄντα; Hittite *hanti* 'in front, ahead'[4] = Greek ἀντί, Lat. *ante*; Hittite *harpzi* 'he places' contains the stem of Skt. *arpayati* 'he throws, places'; *hapatiš*

[2] See Forrer, *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient Gesellschaft*, LXI, 26; Vendryes *ap.* Meillet et Cohen, *Les Langues du Monde*, p. 21; Kretschmer, *Glotta*, XIV, 300–319; Sturtevant, *Lang.*, II, 25–34.

[3] Hittite *h* initial in a number of words corresponds to IE *bh*; but we are not now speaking of such cases. The proof that Hittite *h* corresponds to *nil* in the IE languages was given more fully in *Lang.*, IV, 159–170. I hope soon to publish a notice of a somewhat different view, which has been advanced by Kurylowicz, *Symbolæ Grammaticæ in Honorem Ioannis Rozwadowski*, pp. 95–104.

[3a] I owe this etymology to Carruthers. His discussion of it should appear in *Language* at about the time of publication of this volume.

[4] See Götze, *Kleinasiatische Forschungen*, I, pp. 231 f.

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'vassal' is nearly equivalent in form to Greek ὀπηδός; Hittite *išhuwai* 'he throws' is connected with Skt. *iṣuṣ* 'arrow.' Since the Hittite *hi*-conjugation corresponds with the IE perfect tense, the ending *ahi* of Hittite *šaggahhi* 'I know' is to be identified with the IE ending *ai* of Skt. *tutude* 'I have thrust,' Lat. *tutudī* 'I have beaten,' Ch. Sl. *vědě* 'I know,' and Lat. *vīdī* 'I have seen.' [5]

Since it is impossible to find any phonetic conditions in which this sound could have developed in Hittite, it is necessary to assume either that each of the IE languages lost original *h* separately or that the parent speech lost it after its separation from Hittite. The second alternative is so much more probable than the first as to amount virtually to proof even without supporting evidence.

The IE languages show two distinct types of medio-passive formation; one clearly illustrated by Indo-Iranian and Greek, while traces of it are preserved also in Gothic; and one seen in its typical form in Italic, Celtic, and Tocharian,[6] while Phrygian must have possessed it, and perhaps Armenian also.[7] It is not possible to trace either system to the parent speech in its entirety; but certain forms of both can with reasonable certainty be ascribed to Primitive IE, as follows:

Defective as these systems are, they show several distinctive traits. The final *ai* is characteristic of the primary endings in the first type of medio-passive conjugation as outlined above, and it became more so both in Greek and in Sanskrit,

[5] I now agree with Hirt, *Indogermanische Grammatik*, IV, pp. 265 ff., in thinking that the perfect middle was a late development, and that the perfect ending *ai* had no connection with the middle voice in IE times. My remarks in *Lang.*, IV, 165, require to be altered accordingly. Of course I cannot agree with Hirt's opinion (*op. cit.*, IV, p. 146) that the personal forms in *ai* are old infinitives.

[6] I cannot control the Tocharian evidence, and so I must omit it in the following. See most recently Pedersen, *Le Groupement des Dialectes Indo-Européens* (= K. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, *Historisk-Filologiske Meddelelser*, XI, 3), pp. 17 f.

[7] See Pedersen, *op. cit.*, pp. 44 f., 49 ff.; Meillet, *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris*, XXIV, 194, *Esquisse d'une Histoire de la Langue Latine*, p. 27.

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INDO-EUROPEAN MEDIO-PASSIVE ENDINGS

Implied by Greek and Sanskrit

	Primary	Secondary
Sg. 2	sai	so
3	tai	to
Pl. 1	medha	
3	ntai	nto

Implied by Italic, Celtic, etc.

Sg. 1	ōr
2	so
3	r, ter, tor
Pl. 1	mor
3	ntor

although in different ways (*e.g.* Gk. μαι, Skt. *e* in 1st sg.). The secondary forms, on the other hand, tend to exhibit the final vowel *o*. The second type of medio-passive is distinguished by the final *r* in the first and third persons. In the third persons the characteristic *r* is appended to endings *to/e* and *nto*, which correspond with the secondary endings of the first type, while Latin and Irish indicate an ending *mor* in the first plural. Furthermore, Latin uses *re* from IE *so* in the second singular, primary as well as secondary. Not only is there no trace of the *ai* diphthong in the second type of medio-passive conjugation, but the vowel *o* or its ablaut variant *e* is characteristic of primary endings.

Under these circumstances it is scarcely possible to derive either system from the other. Both must be posited for the IE parent speech, either as equivalent or nearly equivalent forms, which were in current use by the same speakers, or more probably as dialectic variants.[8]

Now Hittite presents a third type of medio-passive conjugation, which has certain points of similarity with each of the two types just described, but which cannot be derived from either of them or from a combination of them both. On the other hand they can both be readily derived from the

[8] Cf. Pedersen, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

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forms which must be assumed as the originals of the Hittite forms. If this is true it follows that Hittite is here more archaic than our reconstructed IE.

The endings of the Hittite medio-passive [9] are given in the following table, in which the *r*-endings, which generally correspond to those of Italic and Celtic, are separated from

MEDIO-PASSIVE ENDINGS IN HITTITE AND INDO-HITTITE

	Without *r*		With *r*	
	Hitt.	IH	Hitt.	IH
		Present		
Sg. 1	..ha [10]	ho	hari, hahari	hor, hohor [13]
2	..tati	to-tai		
3	..a, ta [12]	?, to	ari, tari	r̥(?), tor
Pl. 1	..wašta, waštati	u̯edha,[11] u̯edha-tai		
2	..tuma	?		
3	..anta [12]	nto	antari	ntor
		Preterit		
Sg. 1	..hat, hahat	?		
2	..tat	?		
3	..t, ti, tat, tati	?, tai, ?, to-tai		
Pl. 1	..waštat, waštati	?, u̯edha-tai		
2	..dumat			
3	..antat, antati	?, nto-tai		

[9] See Delaporte, *Grammaire Hittite*, p. 54 f.; Sturtevant, *Lang.*, IV, 165–169.

[10] I know this ending only in forms which actually carry a past meaning (see Götze, *Hattušiliš*, p. 62); but the other medio-passive forms for the first singular require us to assume such an ending (see *Lang.*, IV, 166 f.), and I agree with Delaporte in thinking that the citable forms with ending *ha* are presents used historically.

[11] For this form, cf. *Lang.*, IV, 168, and *A.J.P.*, L, 367. Although the IE ending *u̯edha* belonged to the dual, Hittite makes it clear that the original first plural endings all began with *u̯*, which changed to *m* after *u*. Then IE generalized the *m*-forms in the plural, and utilized the *u̯*-forms in the dual. Cf. below, p. 33.

[12] How is it possible that Forrer still persists in his odd notion that these forms are indeclinable participles? See *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, LXXVI, 212; *Forschungen*, I, 130.

[13] Whence IE *ōr*; see *Lang.*, IV, 169.

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the others. The endings in the second and fourth columns are reconstructed IH endings. In positing the latter I have assumed that the final *i* of the Hittite *r*-forms is a special Hittite development, due to the analogy of the equivalent ending (or particle) *ti* (from IH *tai*). It is not certain that the facts are really such; but some assumption had to be made in the matter, and this one will not affect our present conclusions.

Here we find the ending *tai*, which is so familiar from Greek and Sanskrit; but it is not confined either to the present tense or to the third person. In fact, the only place where it is known to occur without other formative material is in the third singular preterit; while it has been found appended to another ending in the second singular and first plural present and in the third singular and plural and the first plural preterit. It will probably turn up sooner or later in the third singular present; but even so it will scarcely be possible to assume that it originally belonged only there. The element *tai* appears to be a particle that may be appended to various medio-passive forms without greatly altering their meaning. The Gothic first singular (*e.g. haitada* 'I am called') with the same ending as the third person (*e.g. haitada*) is a trace of the original applicability of the ending *tai* to other persons than the third. The ultimate restriction of the ending to the third person in Greek and Sanskrit must have been due to the combined influence of the third personal endings with *ti* and *t* in the active verb and to *to* in the medio-passive, a process which was certainly well advanced before the close of the IE period. The further restriction of the ending *tai* to the primary tenses was probably due to the mutual attraction of the first singular perfect ending *ai* (Skt. *vede*, Lat. *vīdī*, Ch. Sl. *vědě*, etc.); as Greek has ται in the third singular perfect, so Sanskrit has *e* in the first singular present. As *tai* established itself as the primary ending of the third singular, two other processes resulted; analogical creation induced *sai* as a primary ending (*ti: tai* = *si: sai*), and then the old

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endings *so* and *to* were relegated to the secondary tenses. The plural ending *ntai* may have resulted by haplology from *nto-tai*, which we have had to reconstruct as the original of the Hittite preterit *antati*, or it may be an analogical pendant of the singular *tai*. In either case it was responsible for the restriction of the old ending *nto* to secondary tenses. The further extension of the diphthong *ai* in Greek and especially in Indo-Iranian calls for no special comment.

The IH medio-passive forms in *r*, which we have reconstructed chiefly on the basis of Hittite, explain at once nearly all the Italic and Celtic forms with *r*. The Hittite forms like *kišari* 'he becomes,' *ešari* 'he sits,' etc., correspond in personal ending to Osc. *loufir* 'libet,' **sakrafír** 'let one consecrate,' Ir. *berir* 'one carries,' etc. No trace has yet been discovered in Hittite of the peculiar meaning of these Italo-Celtic forms; but it is probable that Oscan-Umbrian and Celtic are here more archaic than Hittite. Probably this is the transition stage from plural active forms like Sanskrit *dadur* 'they gave,' Latin *fēcēre* 'they have made,' and Tocharian *weñāre* 'ils ont dit,' with an indefinite subject, as in English *they say* = German *man sagt* and French *on dit*. From this "impersonal" usage *r* spread to the true medio-passive forms; but in IH, as in Hittite, it was never an indispensable part of the ending. In this it was like the particle *tai*, and consequently in Hittite it was assimilated to this, becoming *ri* like *ti* (from *tai*).

Upon loss of IH *h* the reduplicated ending *hohor* yielded IE *ōr*, which is preserved in Latin and Irish. At the same time the similar ending without *r*, *hoho*, yielded IE *ō*, and so did the combination of stem-vowel *o* with the simple ending *ho*. This *ō* was later, but still in IE times, thrust into the active voice by contrast with the clearly marked medio-passive *ōr*.

The only analogical extension of the IH medio-passives in *r* that has to be assumed in Italo-Celtic is the first plural ending *mor*. It may be an analogical creation on the basis of a primary active ending *mo*[14] (*ō: ōr* = *mo: mor*) or it may

[14] Cf. Hirt, *Indogermanische Grammatik*, IV, p. 148, who doubtfully posits a secondary ending of this form.

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be a contamination of an active ending *mes* or *men* with the medio-passive *r*-endings.

A third proof that Hittite can be connected with the IE languages only through a common origin in IH is furnished by the alternation of *u̯* and *m* in certain noun-suffixes and personal endings.

Hittite possesses several pairs of suffixes with initial *w* or *m*, namely the infinitival suffixes *war* or *mar*, *waš* or *maš*, the supine suffixes *wanzi* or *manzi* and *wan* or *man*, and the first plural endings *weni* or *meni* and *wen* or *men*.

Several scholars [15] have noted that the forms with *m* are nearly confined to the position after *u*, and I have shown [16] that the alternation resulted from a prehistoric phonetic law according to which *uu̯* and *əu̯* both yielded *um*. Since the alternation is found both in the historic IE languages and in Hittite, the phonetic law must have operated in the parent speech.

Now the IE languages agree in assigning the personal endings beginning with *u̯* to the dual number and those beginning with *m* to the plural number. In these verb forms they preserve no trace of the original phonological distribution, which is so clear in Hittite. Furthermore the IE languages agree in a tendency to use the suffix *men* for action nouns to the exclusion of the originally equivalent *u̯en*. Unless one can believe that the several IE languages independently introduced these striking innovations, one must conclude that they occurred in the parent speech after the separation from

[15] Forrer, *Z.D.M.G.*, LXXVI, 211; Sommer and Ehelolf, *Boghazköi-Studien*, X, p. 74; Delaporte, *Grammaire de la Langue Hittite*, p. 10.

[16] See *A.J.P.*, L, 360–369. Bender, *The Suffixes mant and vant in Sanskrit and Avestan*, especially p. 11, shows that the distribution of *mant* and *vant* in Sanskrit is strikingly similar, except that *mant* is more common than *vant* after *i*. This exception is no doubt partly due to the influence of the *u*-stems upon the similar *i*-stems; but another factor of some importance is presented by the stems in *i* from IE *ə*, *e.g. nidhimánt* (*Rig Veda*), *avadhimant*, *sandhimant*, *samādhimant*, *iṣudhimant*, *janimant*, *mahimant*, and probably *ādimant*, *anādimant*, etc. In all these words we should expect IH *əu̯* to yield *um* (Skr. **janumant*, etc.), but the influence of the primitives (*janiṣ*, etc.) substituted *i*.

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Hittite but before the separation from one another of the IE languages properly so called.

Still another proof of the same kind is furnished by the correspondence of archaic Hittite *taš* 'et is' with the IE pronominal stem *to-*.[17] In Hittite, *ta* is a sentence-connective and *aš* is an enclitic pronoun meaning 'is.' The connective *ta*, both by itself and fused with the pronoun, is nearly confined to the archaic texts and even in them it is comparatively rare. Its place is taken with increasing frequency by the equivalent *nu*, which combines with the pronoun to form the conglomerate *naš* 'et is.' This sentence-connective *nu* is cognate with the particle *nu* which is familiar in the IE languages; but in Hittite it has completely lost its temporal force, except in the compound *nuwa* 'still, yet.' Furthermore, while in the IE languages loss of temporal force goes hand in hand with a tendency toward enclisis of *nu* (particularly after other adverbs) and toward its use predominantly in questions and commands, Hittite *nu* regularly stands first in its clause and is employed in sentences of all kinds. One must conclude that in prehistoric Hittite *nu* came to be used as a precise synonym of the sentence-connective *ta* (IH *to*), and that it gradually crowded the latter out of use.

The commonest sentence-connective, then, in Hittite of all periods is *nu* (often combined with *aš* to form *naš* 'et is'). In the early texts an occasional variant for *nu* is *ta* and for *naš* is *taš*. All four of these words stand invariably at the head of the sentence, and at least half of the Hittite sentences that have come down to us begin with one of them.

Now that we have discovered that the IE pronoun with the stem **to-* was originally a sentence-connective combined with an enclitic pronoun meaning 'is,' we can see many traces of this state of affairs in various languages. In the first place, the pronominal stem consisting solely of the vowel *o* is

[17] See Hrozný, *Die Sprache der Hethiter*, pp. 135 ff.; Ungnad, *Z.D.M.G.*, LXXIV, 417–422, *Zeit. f. Assyriologie*, N.F., II, 104[1]; Friedrich, *ibid.*, II, 293–296; Sturtevant, *J.A.O.S.*, XLVII, 174–177

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found in the IE languages as well as in Hittite, *e.g.* Sanskrit *asya*, genitive of *ayam* 'is.' [18]

More important is the strong tendency for the *to-* pronoun to stand first in its sentence in Sanskrit prose, Homeric Greek, Old English, and Old High German. It is not easy to say how much connective force the stem retained in these languages. The customary use of other particles along with it in Homer might suggest that the 'article' is there merely a pronoun; but the connective force of γάρ, δέ, etc., may rather be the later development, since various enclitic particles frequently accompany *ta* and *nu* in Hittite. At any rate the initial position of the *to-* pronoun is a trace of its original connective force. This certainly survives in the so-called relative use of the 'article' in Homer and in several of the later dialects.[19]

In the IE languages, however, the *to-* stem is an indivisible unit, instead of being a conglomerate of connective and pronoun, as it is in Hittite, and as it must have been in IH. This must be due to a development in the parent speech itself after the separation from Hittite, unless the several IE languages have independently travelled the same road.

Now, while it would perhaps be logically possible to assume an independent but parallel development of the several IE languages in one or two of these matters, we can scarcely make the assumption so often. The material here presented seems to me to require the conclusion that Hittite separated from the parent stock before the IE languages proper did so.

The conclusion is supported by the fact that certain other phenomena fit more readily into this hypothesis than into any other. For example, the neuter stems with *r* in nominative and accusative, but *n* in the other cases (*e.g.* Latin *femur, feminis*), are a mere remnant in the IE languages, but in Hittite they constitute one of the commonest types of declension. Since so anomalous an inflection would not be

[18] See Walde-Pokorny, *V.W.I.S.*, I, 96 ff.

[19] See Buck, *Introd. to the Study of the Greek Dialects*², p. 93.

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likely to spread, it is probable that Hittite is closer to the common source than are the IE languages. The agreement of the latter with one another in nearly eliminating the type is easier to understand if we assume a long period after the separation from Hittite during which IE speech belonged to a single community. The inference is the stronger since there are many agreements in detail, such as Sanskrit *yakṛt*, Greek ἧπαρ, Latin *jecur*; Sanskrit *nāma*, Greek ὄνομα, Latin *nōmen*, Goth. *namō*.

The importance of this conclusion for comparative grammar lies in the fact that it enables us for the first time to apply the comparative method to the IE parent speech. If we knew no IE languages but the Italic group, we should probably assume that the linguistic stock possessed just two orders of mutes, voiced and voiceless (*b* and *p*, *d* and *t*, *g* and *k*); but since we know that Greek has come from the same parent speech as Latin, we are compelled to assume at least three orders of mutes corresponding to Greek β, π, and φ; δ, τ and θ; γ, κ, and χ. Such checks as this enable us to reconstruct the final stage of the IE parent speech with a good deal of accuracy; but for the earlier periods in the history of that language we have not hitherto been able to check our inferences at any point. It goes without saying that we have made a great many mistakes. Now we may hope to correct some of them.

So far the study of Hittite comparative grammar has not discovered many errors in our conclusions about Primitive IE, but we have found a number of danger signals, which will lead us to be somewhat less confident of certain far-reaching generalizations. One instance will suffice.

It has long been held that the IE verb was just beginning to distinguish between past and present time, although it had an elaborate mechanism for distinguishing between aspects (*e.g.* the Greek distinction between imperfect and aorist). In Hittite, however, we find a tense system practically identical with that of the early Germanic languages, namely one tense

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to express present and future time and another to express past time. The two tenses are distinguished by different sets of personal endings, corresponding in part with the familiar primary and secondary endings of the IE languages.

There are also some clear traces of aspect in Hittite, and we shall doubtless discover others as our knowledge of the language increases. We need not give up the doctrine that this was an important feature of IE; but the distinction of past from present and future is also an inheritance from IH times.

The comparison of Hittite with IE will lead also to many positive results. We have already noted the demonstration that IH possessed a sound which the IE languages all lack. For the moment it seems likely that this sound, in IH as well as in Hittite, was a spirant similar to German *ch*, although Kurylowicz [20] thinks it was rather a glottal stop. Quite as important as this is the demonstration that both quantitative and qualitative ablaut existed in IH virtually as in IE. The former may be illustrated by Hittite *kuenzi* = Sanskrit *hanti* 'he strikes': *kunanzi* = *ghnanti* 'they strike'; for Hittite *ku* in both forms is to be interpreted as equivalent to IE *qu*̯. Qualitative ablaut appears in *šešzi* 'he lies' = Lith. *sėsti* 'he sits': *šaštaš* 'bed' = *sostas* 'chair.'

We cannot hope to do a very satisfactory job of reconstructing IH until we have more languages to operate with; but there is an excellent chance of finding these. In fact the documents from Boghazköi include some fragments in a language called Luwian, which is clearly a near relative of Hittite, and the Lycian inscriptions of the fifth century certainly and the Lydian inscriptions probably belong to the same group of languages. Whatever may be the linguistic affinities of Cyprian, Etruscan, and Cretan, there must be many written documents waiting to be dug up in Asia Minor, and some of them will surely belong to the same group as Hittite, Luwian, and Lycian.

[20] *Symbolæ Grammaticæ in Honorem Ioannis Rozwadowski*, pp. 95–104.

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III.—*The Fate Motive and its Echoes in the Oresteia*

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This paper is one of the by-products of a recent study of the rhythmical structure of the choral odes of Aeschylus, based upon Walter Headlam's theory of Greek lyric metre. (Cf. *J.H.S.* XXII (1902), 209–227.) I wish to make it clear that, in this investigation, I am taking for granted, on the basis of my own studies, the two fundamental assumptions of Headlam's theory: (1) first that the unit of rhythmical structure in the choral odes is the phrase; (2) secondly that each phrase has a definite ethical association. On the basis of these premises I present my hypothesis for the explanation of certain dactylic phrases in the *Oresteia*.

Before proceeding to the discussion we shall do well to recall briefly the plot of this trilogy. Shortly after his return from Troy to Argos, Agamemnon, ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν, is slain by his wife, Clytaemnestra, with the help of her paramour, Aegisthus. Orestes, the banished son of Agamemnon, appears on the scene as the avenger of this foul deed, and slays his mother and Aegisthus. In the end he is finally absolved from the stigma of matricide, and the New Justice of Apollo, Zeus, and Athena triumphs over the ancient power of the Erinyes, the exactors of ποινή, vengeance for the shedding of kindred blood.

Now it is my contention, first, that the moral significance of the *Oresteia* is that man is a puppet in the hands of the two contending forces of Fate,[1] the Good and the Evil. His fortune is determined by the victor in this eternal struggle. If it happens to be the Good, man fares well, if the Evil, he is unfortunate. These two forces of Fate never work directly upon their victim or victims, but always through the agency

[1] Cf. Croiset, *Histoire de la Littérature Grecque*, III, 195 ff.

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of gods or mortals. Further, I believe that in order to keep this idea constantly before the mind of his audience, and thus to drive home its vital significance, Aeschylus has employed a rhythmical device, unique in the extant remains of Attic tragedy. On the analogy of the *Leitmotiv* in Wagnerian opera, I have called it the Fate Motive and its Echoes.

The Fate Motive proper, as distinguished from its Echoes, is the dactylic pentapody with spondaic ending, *αἴλινον αἴλινον εἰπέ, τὸ δ' εὖ νικάτω.* It concludes the first strophe and antistrophe and mesode of the first stasimon of the *Agamemnon* (121 (= 139), 159). In this phrase Aeschylus announces the profound moral significance of the drama,—man the puppet in the hands of the two opposing forces of Fate, *αἴλινον αἴλινον εἰπέ* (Sing woe, sing woe!), the Evil, and *τὸ δ' εὖ νικάτω* (but let the good prevail!), the Good. If we interpret the significance of this phrase in the light of the context of the first strophe and antistrophe and mesode, we find that it has a vital psychological and dramatic importance. The theme of this passage is the expedition of the Achaean forces against Troy, with special emphasis upon the delay of the fleet at Aulis, the omen of the two eagles of Zeus, the fatal prophecy of Calchas, and the consequent sacrifice of Iphigenia. By the introduction of the Fate Motive proper at this point in the drama Aeschylus has implied two things: (1) first that the disasters accompanying the Achaean expedition,—especially the sacrifice of Iphigenia,—were the result of the victory of the Evil over the Good; (2) likewise the principal characters in the trilogy (Agamemnon, Clytaemnestra, Aegisthus, and Orestes) will be the puppets of these two opposing forces of Fate. The poet has pointed out to his audience the significant connection between the events of the Achaean expedition and the subsequent action of the *Oresteia.* Casting this mysterious spell of Fate over both, he has created in the mind of the audience or the reader an almost overwhelming feeling of tragic suspense, which makes this passage one of the most dramatic in all extant ancient tragedy.

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The Echoes of the Fate Motive include all the rest of the dactylic phrases in the *Oresteia.* Counting the strophic and antistrophic forms of each phrase as one occurrence, there are in all twenty-four phrases,—six in the *Agamemnon,* two in the *Choephoroe,* and sixteen in the *Eumenides.* Only one of these Echoes,—the final occurrence of the phrase in the *Oresteia,*—has exactly the same rhythmical structure as the Fate Motive proper, *i.e.* dactylic pentapody with spondaic ending, — ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡ — — — —. The rest of them may be classified as follows: thirteen pentapodies, seven tripodies, two tetrapodies, one octapody, and one heptapody. Each one of these Echoes has a general or echoing significance and a specific significance. Since they are composed in the same rhythm as the Fate Motive proper, they always echo or recall its moral significance above explained. The same rhythm recalls to the mind of the auditor the same idea. Hence I have called these phrases Echoes to distinguish them from the Fate Motive proper. Again, they always refer definitely to an agent,—either a god or a mortal or some natural force,—of one of the two conflicting forces of Fate.

The first Echo of the Fate Motive occurs in strophe and antistrophe B (160–167 = 168–175) of the first stasimon of the *Agamemnon.* The chorus have temporarily abandoned the story of the expedition of the Achaeans to Troy, the theme of the preceding portion of the choral ode, to philosophize about the pantheistic power and wisdom of Zeus. They begin the strophe with a series of cretico-iambic phrases, Aeschylus' favorite rhythm for the expression of his philosophy or moral precepts. At the end of the fifth phrase they suddenly change to the dactylic rhythm in the pentapody, *πλὴν Διός, εἰ τὸ μάταν ἀπὸ φροντίδος ἄχθος,* the strophic form, and *Ζῆνα δέ τις προφρόνως ἐπινίκια κλάζων,* the antistrophic form. The dactylic rhythm of this phrase echoes the fundamental moral significance of the drama, as expressed in the Fate Motive proper,—man is a helpless puppet in the hands of the two opposing forces of Fate. That is the general significance of the phrase. Its

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specific significance is contained in the reference to Zeus in both the strophic and antistrophic forms of the phrase. Despite his power over the gods, Zeus must ultimately yield to either the Good or the Evil force of Fate. Thus as in other occurrences of the Echoes of the Fate Motive, the general significance of the phrase has determined the interpretation of the specific significance.

The limited scope of this paper permits only a brief summary of the three remaining Echoes of the Fate Motive in the *Agamemnon.*

(1) In stasimon B, strophe and antistrophe B (720–722 = 730–732), three dactylic tripodies refer to Helen of Troy, as an agent of the Evil force of Fate.

(2) In stasimon G, strophe and antistrophe A (978 = 991), a dactylic pentapody refers to the Erinyes as an agent of the Evil force of Fate.

(3) In stasimon G, strophe and antistrophe B (1014–15 = 1030–31), a dactylic octapody refers to Zeus as an agent of the Good force of Fate.

In the *Choephoroe* there are just two Echoes of the Fate Motive. The first is a dactylic pentapody, occurring in strophe and antistrophe A of the parodos (29–30 = 39–40). The extensive spondaic substitution in this phrase is significant, for it is particularly appropriate to the lugubrious character of the thought and emotion. In the strophic form, *πρόστερνοι στολμοὶ πέπλων ἀγελάστοις*, the dark robes of the chorus of libation bearers is referred to. In the antistrophic form, *μέμφεσθαι τοὺς γᾶς νέρθεν περιθύμως*, the *τοὺς γᾶς νέρθεν*, the gods of the underworld are referred to as the agents of the Evil force of Fate. The second echoing phrase in the *Choephoroe* is also a dactylic pentapody, and occurs in Stasimon A, strophe and antistrophe A (585–93 = 594–601). The chorus is philosophizing about the baneful power of *ποινή*. The bold spirit of man and the reckless passions of women are more destructive than the mighty forces of nature. The Echo in its antistrophic form, *θηλυκρατὴς ἀπέρωτος ἔρως παρανικᾷ*, refers specifically to the

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corrupting power of the treacherous love of woman, a theme that is developed throughout the rest of the stasimon. In this sense woman is an agent of the Evil force of Fate. And the particular woman which the chorus had in mind was in all probability Clytaemnestra. It was her θηλυκρατὴς ἀπέρωτος ἔρως, her "unloving love" for Agamemnon, that impelled her to slay him, and thus brought vengeance upon her own head. She is then an agent of the Evil force of Fate.

The comparatively large number of occurrences of Echoes in the *Eumenides* is significant. This play contains twice the number found in the *Agamemnon* and the *Choephoroe* together. I suggest that the reason for this is that, in this play, more than in either one of the preceding plays of the trilogy, Aeschylus is dealing with man's struggle with the two opposing forces of Fate. In the plots of the *Agamemnon* and the *Choephoroe* he has followed in the main the Homeric version of the story. Thus, he has created for himself, in the character of Orestes the matricide, a problem of moral justice. How is Orestes finally to be absolved from the pollution of blood guilt? The solution of this problem is worked out in the *Eumenides*. Its plot is essentially a combat between two conceptions of justice for the possession of the culprit, Orestes. On one side is the old idea of justice, represented by the Erinyes, the exactors of ποινή, on the other, the new or Athenian idea of justice, represented by the court of the Areopagus, Apollo, Zeus, and Athena. The Eumenides or the Furies are the agents of the Evil force of Fate; the Areopagus, Apollo, Zeus, and Athena, the agents of the Good force of Fate; and Orestes the helpless puppet, struggling in their grasp. In the end the Good prevails over the Evil, and Orestes is absolved. The *Eumenides* is, then, a concrete example illustrating the profound moral significance of the *Oresteia*, man's struggle with the Good and the Evil forces of Fate. To emphasize this the poet has employed Echoes of the Fate Motive much more frequently than in the *Agamemnon* or the *Choephoroe*. In ten of its sixteen occurrences in the *Eumenides* its specific signifi-

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cance is that the Erinyes are, by virtue of their power of exacting vengeance, the agents of the Evil force of Fate. The remaining examples, except the last, refer to other agents of the two forces of Fate. Since the limited scope of this paper precludes a detailed discussion of all the Echoes in the *Eumenides,* I shall first submit an explanatory list and then proceed to a consideration of the final occurrence.

(1) STASIMON *A*

Strophe and Antistrophe B

349–352 = 360–363

Strophe	Antistrophe
γιγνομέναισι λάχη τάδ' ἐφ' ἁμὶν ἐκράνθη.	σπευδομένα δ' ἀφελεῖν τινὰ τάσδε μερίμνας
ἀθανάτων δ' ἀπέχειν χέρας, οὐδέ τις ἐστὶ	θεῶν δ' ἀτέλειαν ἐμαῖς μελέταις ἐπικραίνειν,
ξυνδαίτωρ μετάκοινος παλλεύ-	μηδ' εἰς ἄγκρισιν ἐλθεῖν Ζεὺς δ' αἱμο-
κων δὲ πέπλων ἀνέορτος ἄκληρος ἐτύχθην	σταγὲς ἀξιόμισον ἔθνος τόδε λέσχας

This passage contains four Echoes of the Fate Motive arranged in the following order: two dactylic pentapodies, one tetrapody, and a concluding pentapody. Note that each particular Echo does not have a specific significance in the sense that it refers to a definite person or idea. Both strophe and antistrophe deal with the same general theme,—the ancient and exclusive prerogative of the Erinyes, their right to avenge the shedding of kindred blood. It is the old idea of justice as contrasted with the new or Athenian, and in that sense may be interpreted as an Evil force of Fate exercised by the Erinyes. That is the specific significance of each one of the Echoes in this passage. Each component phrase reflects the dominant theme of the whole; and so it is in all passages composed of two or more Echoes.

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(2) STASIMON *A*

Strophe and Antistrophe G

373–376 = 377–380

Strophe	Antistrophe
δόξαι τ' ἀνδρῶν καὶ μάλ' ὑπ' αἰθέρι σεμναὶ	πίπτων δ' οὐκ οἶδεν τόδ' ὑπ' ἄφρονι λύμᾳ·
τακόμεναι κατὰ γᾶν μινύθουσιν ἄτιμοι	τοῖον [γὰρ] ἐπὶ κνέφας ἀνδρὶ μύσος πεπόταται,
ἀμετέραις ἐφόδοις μελανείμοσιν ὀρχησ-	καὶ δυοφεράν τιν' ἀχλὺν κατὰ δώματος αὐδᾷ-

This passage is composed of three dactylic pentapodies, all ending with a spondee. Again the predominating theme in both strophe and antistrophe is the Erinyes' power of vengeance. This is the specific significance of each one of the Echoes.

(3) STASIMON *A*

Strophe and Antistrophe D

380–381 = 395–396

Strophe	Antistrophe
λάμπᾳ, δυσοδοπαίπαλα δερκομέν-	κύρω, καίπερ ὑπὸ χθόνα τάξιν ἔ-

The Echo is a dactylic tetrapody. In the strophe it refers to the power of the Erinyes to impede the course of man's life, in the antistrophe to their position beneath the earth, ὑπὸ χθόνα. Again its specific significance is the avenging power of the Furies.

(4) STASIMON *B*

Strophe and Antistrophe G

529–531 = 541–543

Strophe	Antistrophe
παντὶ μέσῳ τὸ κράτος θεὸς ὤπασεν, ἄλλ' ἄλλᾳ δ' ἐφορεύει	κέρδος ἰδὼν ἀθέῳ ποδὶ λὰξ ἀτίσῃς· ποινὰ γὰρ ἐπέσται

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The Echo is a dactylic heptapody. In the strophe it refers to the fact that Orestes has not followed the middle path and therefore is likely to meet defeat; in the antistrophe, that because he has spurned the old justice he will be condignly punished by the power of vengeance. In the strophe *τὸ κράτος θεὸς ὤπασεν* represents God as an agent of the Good force of Fate; in the antistrophe *ποινή* (vengeance) refers to the Erinyes as agents of the Evil force of Fate. In other words the strophic and antistrophic forms of the Echo do not have the same specific significance.

(5) STASIMON *B*

Strophe and Antistrophe G

532–534 = 545–547

Strophe	Antistrophe
δυσσεβίας μὲν ὕβρις τέκος ὡς	πρὸς τάδε τις τοκέων σέβας εὖ
ἐτύμως	προτίων

The Echo is a dactylic pentapody catalectic. Again the strophic and antistrophic forms refer respectively to a Good and an Evil agent of Fate. In the strophe it is *ὕβρις*; in the antistrophe *τοκέων σέβας*, reverence for one's parents.

(6) STASIMON *G*

Strophe and Antistrophe B

959–960 = 979–980

Strophe	Antistrophe
ἀνδροτυχεῖς βιότους δότε, κύρι'	μηδὲ πιοῦσα κόνις μέλαν αἷμα
ἔχοντες	πολιτᾶν

The Echo is a dactylic pentapody with spondaic ending. In the strophe *ἀνδροτυχεῖς βιότους*, the blessings of married life, result from the action of the Good force of Fate; in the antistrophe *πιοῦσα κόνις μέλαν αἷμα*, the dust that drinks the dark blood, refers indirectly to the Erinyes' power of vengeance, as one of the agents of the Evil force of Fate.

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(7) STASIMON *G*

Strophe and Antistrophe B

962–965 = 982–985

Strophe	Antistrophe
– ⏑ ⏑ – – –	– ⏑ ⏑ – – –
ματροκασιγνῆται,	ἀντιφόνους ἄτας
– ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ –	– ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ –
δαίμονες ὀρθονόμοι,	ἀρπαλίσαι πόλεως.
– ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – –	– ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – –
παντὶ δόμῳ μετάκοινοι,	χάρματα δ' ἀντιδιδοῖεν
– ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – –	– ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – –
παντὶ χρόνῳ δ' ἐπιβριθεῖς	κοινοφιλεῖ διανοίᾳ

This passage is composed of four echoing phrases, two dactylic tripodies catalectic, followed by two tripodies acatalectic. In the strophe the Moirae represent agents of the Good force of Fate; in the antistrophe ἀντιφόνους ἄτας, blind infatuation demanding vengeance, is the result of an agent of the Evil force of Fate.

(8) STASIMON *G*

Strophe and Antistrophe G

996 = 1014

Strophe	Antistrophe
– ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – –	– ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ – ⏑ –
<χαίρετε> χαίρετ' ἐν αἰσιμίαισι	χαίρετε, χαίρετε δ' αὖθις, ἐπαν-
– – πλούτου	– – διπλάζω

This is the final occurrence of the echoing phrases in the *Oresteia*. That it has exactly the same rhythmical structure as the Fate Motive proper,—dactylic pentapody ending with two spondees,—and that it begins the last strophe and antistrophe of the concluding stasimon of the trilogy are very significant facts. The phrases are the "ave atque vale" of the departing chorus of the Eumenides. Their specific significance is this. The combat between the Good and the Evil forces of Fate has finally resulted in victory for the former. The New or Athenian Justice, represented by the Areopagus, Zeus, Athena, and Apollo, has triumphed over the Old Justice, represented by the Erinyes. Consequently, Orestes is ab-

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solved from the pollution of matricide. Aeschylus has solved his problem of moral justice, artistically at least.

To sum up then: Lack of adequate space has prevented a detailed analysis of all the Echoes of the Fate Motive in the *Oresteia.* Yet I believe that the evidence adduced is sufficient to warrant the following conclusions:

(1) The Fate Motive and its Echoes is a rhythmical device employed by Aeschylus for a twofold purpose:

(*a*) The first is ethical. It emphasizes the fundamental moral significance of the *Oresteia,*—man's struggle between the two opposing forces of Fate, the Good and the Evil.

(*b*) The second is dramatic, and is the direct result of the first. Constant echoing of the moral significance of the trilogy welds together the separate plots of its component tragedies into one great drama whose action is controlled by the forces of Fate.

(2) Further, the Fate Motive and its Echoes seem to be a special application of a general principle of rhythmical structure employed by Aeschylus in the composition of the choral odes in his extant tragedies. A particular emotion or pitch of emotion is always associated with a definite rhythm or rhythmical phrase. Thus dochmiac phrases are always associated with either extreme grief or joy. With the Fate Motive and its Echoes Aeschylus has carried the application of this principle one step further. He has associated a particular idea, as well as a particular emotion, with a definite rhythm. Man's struggle with the two opposing forces of Fate, the Good and the Evil, is always associated with the dactylic phrases in the *Oresteia.*

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IV.—*Some Newly Discovered Fragments of Visigothic Manuscripts*

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[Plates I–VII]

The first attempt to publish a complete list of Visigothic manuscripts and fragments was made by Charles Upson Clark in the *Collectanea Hispanica*,[1] 1920, although a very helpful partial list had previously been given by E. A. Lowe (Loew) in his *Studia Palaeographica*.[2] In 1923 Zacarías García Villada in his *Paleografía Española*[3] repeated the list of Clark with several additions and corrections. In 1924 Dom D. de Bruyne in the *Revue Bénédictine*[4] augmented the list of Clark by some twenty-one additions. The same year, Augustín Millares Carlo, professor of palaeography in the University of Madrid, besides correcting some errors in the list of García Villada brought to light a few additional Visigothic fragments.[5] Three years later, García Villada in the *Revista de Filología Española*[6] published a supplement to his previous list, incorporating the additions and corrections of de Bruyne and Millares. In 1928 Millares in an article entitled, *Contribución al "Corpus" de Codices Visigóticos*,[7] not only made further corrections in the earlier lists and gave a more detailed description of certain manuscripts, but also mentioned some half-dozen new frag-

[1] *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, XXIV (Paris, 1920), 28–74.

[2] *Sitzb. d. philos.-philol. u. hist. Kl. d. königl. Bayer. Akad. d. Wiss.*, 12 Abh. (München, 1910).

[3] Pp. 94–128 (Madrid, 1923).

[4] XXXVI (1924), 5–20.

[5] *Revista de la Biblioteca, Archivo y Museo del Ayuntamiento de Madrid*, I (1924), 16–18. I have not seen this article.

[6] XIV (Madrid, 1927), 16 ff.

[7] *Rev. de la Bibl., Arch. y Mus. del Ayun. de Madrid*, V (1928), 35–59. Also issued separately (Facsimiles).

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ments.[8] Furthermore, he calls attention to three lost Toledo liturgical fragments and the lost Toledo 33–2, of which there are extant partial transcriptions in imitation of the writing of the originals by the eighteenth century Spanish calligrapher, Palomares. Millares remarks that in all probability future discoveries will be limited to single leaves or gatherings, or to Visigothic marginal notes in manuscripts written in some other script.[9]

That there is however always the possibility of entire manuscripts coming to light is shown by García Villada's announcement of the discovery in private possession of a lost codex of Roda, previously known only from a facsimile of Palomares.[10]

Finally should be mentioned two articles by Walter Muir Whitehill, Jr., appearing in *Speculum* for the current year, one on a *Beatus* fragment in the monastery of Santo Domingo de Silos,[11] the other on manuscript No. 2 of the Bibliothèque Smith-Lesouëf at Nogent-sur-Marne.[12] Mr. Whitehill tells me that there are other Visigothic fragments at Silos, of which he expects to publish descriptions.

I was in Spain and Portugal during the winter of 1928–1929 for the purpose of gathering material for the continuation of the

[8] The Huesca fragment cited by Millares is probably the same as No. 4 of García Villada's supplementary list.

[9] I question the propriety of including in a list of Visigothic *codices* such manuscripts as Barcelona, Ripoll 168 (Boethius, *De Arithmetica*), and Rome, Vallicelliana E. 26 (a miscellany including some works of Bede). The test of the former is in French minuscule of the eleventh century, and the only Visigothic writing to be found in the entire manuscript is in some very short cursive notes on f. 5*v*. The latter is in Caroline minuscule with three short notes on ff. 30*v*. and 31*r*. in a mixture of Visigothic book-hand and Caroline minuscule. I could see nothing distinctively Visigothic in the note relative to the year 769. Cf. I. Giorgi, *Rendiconti Accad. Lincei, Clas. di Sci. mor., stor. e filol.*, XXVI (1917), 571.

[10] *Revista de Filología Española*, XV (1928), 113–130 (with four facsimiles). The manuscript is a miscellany including Orosius, some works of Isidore, and the *Chronicle* of Alfonso III.

[11] "A *Beatus* fragment at Santo Domingo de Silos," *Speculum*, IV (1929), 102–105.

[12] "A Mozarabic Psalter from Santo Domingo de Silos," *ibid.*, 461–468.

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Palaeographia Iberica[13] of Professor John Miller Burnam, whose untimely death in 1921 was mourned by all who knew him. In the belief that a systematic study of Iberian palaeography should begin with the Visigothic cursive writing, I had in mind as the chief object of my quest documents from the earliest period down into the twelfth century, and only such codices as contain Visigothic cursive script. Nevertheless, it was my good fortune to find fragments of ten different manuscripts in Visigothic book-hand or in a mixture of Visigothic and French minuscule, the existence of which has not as yet, I believe, been noted in print. Owing to the fact that the Visigothic book-hand was not at the moment the special object of my study, I failed to take as complete notes on some of the fragments as I might wish.

Lerida

Museo Diocesano. A single leaf, probably of a Bible. I saw this fragment, but took no notes upon it.

Vich

Museo Episcopal. Ambrosius, *Expositio in Lucam, saec.* X. The fragment consists of a double sheet containing the end of book III and the beginning of book IV.[14] The sheets, which have evidently been rescued from a binding, are in so bad a state of conservation that only the *recto* of f. 2 (plate I) can be entirely deciphered. The writing is in two columns, 37 lines to the column. The pages measure mm. 260 by 370 and the writing mm. 186 by 275. Ruling is with the hard point, with punctures between the columns. The distinction between assibilated and unassibilated *ti* is made (col. 1, 15, *castitatis*, 18, *uersutias*), but the general appearance of the writing and the treatment of the shafts in particular would indicate a date scarcely later than the middle of the tenth century.[15] The abbreviations are the usual Visigothic

[13] Paris, 1912, 1920, 1925.

[14] Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, xv, 1695 ff.

[15] Cf. Lowe, *op. cit.*, pp. 52 ff.

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ones. Of particular interest, however, is the variation in the abbreviation of the forms of *noster:* col. 1, 26, *nsam*, 27, *nrm;* col. 2, 16, *nsa*, 22, *nrm*. The form with *s* is, of course, the characteristic Visigothic abbreviation, but my study of both codices and documents has convinced me that the form with *r* was known to Visigothic scribes of all periods. Naturally this applies to abbreviations of the forms of *vester* as well.

Saragossa

In private possession

1. Beatus, *In Apocalypsin, saec.* x *in.* (?). Parts of two separate sheets are preserved. The text of one of these is easily identified by the words: "Explicit explanatio equorum/ Incipit storia de animas (*sic*) occisorum in libro iiii." The writing is in two columns. The absence of the *ti* distinction, the shortness of the shafts with some clubbing, and the imperfect word separation seem to indicate a date not later than the beginning of the tenth century. On the other hand, the fact that all three shafts of *m* and both shafts of *n* have a horizontal finishing stroke to the right is, I believe, somewhat unusual for so early a period.

2. *Saec.* ix (?). The writing of this small fragment is in two columns. I judge from my notes that it contains no word with the assibilated *ti*. The suspension of *us* in the termination *-bus* is indicated by an apostrophe surmounted by a dot adjoining the upper part of the bow of *b* on the right. The script is that which I believe to be characteristic of Toledo, or perhaps of Mozarabic *scriptoria* in general.[16] The writing may be of the ninth century, but I am convinced that manuscripts of Mozarabic provenience cannot be dated by the same criteria

[16] I refer to the kind of script found in Madrid, *Bibl. Nac., Vitr.* 4, 3 (*Tolet.* 15, 8), Isidorus, *Etymologiae*, published *in integro* in vol. xiii of *Codices Graeci et Latini* (Leyden, 1909). Perhaps the most characteristic features are the coarseness of the strokes and the peculiar form of *t*, which gives to the combination *to* the appearance of three contiguous circles. Millares, *op. cit.* (1928), p. 8, speaks of Palomares' transcription of a Toledo fragment as being *de escritura netamente toledana*.

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as those of northern Spain. I have not identified the text with exactitude, but the words which I copied, "Non enim te exaudit medicus quando forte tu frigidam aquam petes. Et si prodest statim dat. Si non prodest non dat," are strongly reminiscent of a passage in Augustinus, *Sermo* 286.[17]

3. *Passionale* (?), *saec.* XI (?). The fragment consists of part of a single leaf, which must originally have been of large dimensions. The writing is in two columns. The script is characterized by several non-Visigothic features: the abbreviations of *per* and *pro* and the presence of the *st* ligature as found in the scripts of continental Europe outside of Spain, and the failure to distinguish between the assibilated and unassibilated *ti*. These foreign elements, together with the compactness of the script (the base of *c* sometimes touches the following letter), may indicate a Visigothic hand of the period of transition, *i.e.* the second half of the eleventh century. Such an assumption would, however, scarcely account for the failure to distinguish between the two kinds of *ti*. My observation has been that this was one of the very last of the features of Visigothic writing to give way before the encroachments of the French minuscule.[18]

[17] Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, XXXVIII, 1299: "Non enim semper aegrum exaudit medicus ad voluntatem, quamvis eius sine dubio procuret atque appetat sanitatem. Non dat quod petit: sed quod non petit, hoc procurat. Petit frigidam, non dat." The same parallel of the *medicus* is found in the sermon, "De eo quod ait Dominus; petite et accipite" (ll. 40–49), edited for the first time by Dom A. Wilmart in the *Revue Bénédictine*, XLI (1929), 5–14 (from *Escorial R. II. 18*).

[18] The writing of this fragment is similar to the hand found on ff. 6*r*.–7*v*. of Barcelona, *Bibl. Catedral* 102 (Gregorius, *Moralia*). These four pages exhibit the non-Visigothic elements mentioned above, together with several others, such as the abbreviation of *prae* and the frequent disregard of the rule for the *i-longa*. The *ti*-ligature, in which the *i* reaches below the line, is sometimes used for the assibilated sound, but often the combination in which the *i* reaches only to the line is used for the assibilated as well as the unassibilated sound. Clark (facs. 40), who does not mention the fact that these four pages are by a hand different from that of the rest of the book, believes the MS. to be of the tenth century. It is hardly probable that the four pages in question represent a later addition to the MS., though the general appearance of the script is more recent. It may well be, however, that the date assigned by Clark is too early for both hands.

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Braga

Arquivo Distrital[19]

1. *Biblia Latina, saec.* XI *ex.* This fragment consists of a double sheet, which formed the inside leaves of a gathering. A strip about mm. 90 in width has been cut from the bottom, but this too has been preserved in large part. The text of the two leaves (*Levit.* 13, 9,–19, 13) is intact save for the last five lines of the second column of f. 2*r.* and of the first column of f. 2*v.* There are 56 lines to the column; the ruling is with the hard point, with punctures between the columns. Measurements: mm. 274 by 404 for the pages and mm. 206 by 301 for the writing. The only non-Visigothic elements I have noticed are the use of *au* instead of *aum* as an abbreviation of *autem* (plate II, col. 1, 25; col. 2, 45 and 49), the occasional use of the horizontal line instead of the line surmounted by a dot as a mark of abbreviation, and at least one instance of the apostrophe instead of the usual *s*-shaped figure to indicate the omission of *ue* in *-que* (col. 1, 32).

2. *Biblia Latina, saec.* XI–XII. A single leaf written in three columns, 66 lines to the column. Measurements: *circa* mm. 302 by 506 for the pages (margins have been trimmed) and mm. 242 by 382 for the writing. Ruling is with the hard point, with punctures in the outer margin. The text of the fragment is *Zacharias* 1, 9,–10, 3. The script is carefully formed Visigothic, with the *ti* distinction maintained, but non-Visigothic elements are fairly frequent. Of these I may mention the use

[19] Dom Férotin in the introduction to his edition of the *Liber Mozarabicus Sacramentorum* (*Monumenta Ecclesiae Liturgica*, VI, Paris, 1912), p. xiv, states that he was unable to find a single MS. in Portugal written in Visigothic script. Burnam found two late MSS. written in a mixture of Visigothic and French minuscule: Lisbon, *Biblioteca Pública, No. 38* (a. 1160–75), Gregorius, *Liber Quaestionum* (pl. V of *Palaeographia Iberica*), and Lisbon, *Torre do Tombo, Alcobaça 374* (ca. 1175), *Liber Testamentorum Coenobii Laurbanensis* (pl. XXXI of *P. I.*). So far as I know, Nos. 1 and 3 of my list are the only examples in Portugal of Visigothic writing practically untouched by French influence.

I take this opportunity to express my warmest thanks to Dr. Alberto Feio, director of the Biblioteca Pública and Arquivo Distrital of Braga, for his most cordial reception and generous assistance.

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of the French *ct* and *st* ligatures (plate III, col. 1, 44, *factum*, and 49, *ieiunastis*), the omission of the letters *er* and *en* indicated by a horizontal line above (col. 1, 9, *terram;* col. 2, 35, *iumentorum*), the apostrophe to indicate final *us*, the suprascript *i* and *a* in *qui* and *qua*, suprascript *o* in *quo* and *pro*, the suspension of final *ur*, the letters *c*, *n*, and *e* with a horizontal line above to indicate *cum*, *non*, and *est* respectively (col. 3, 39–40), and the occasional failure to observe the rule for *i-longa* (col. 2, 20, *eius*, and 22, *huius*).

3. *Registo Geral, Caixa* 280, 3 (capa do Tombo de Vilar do Monte), a. 1080–1090. Antiphonary [20] of the Mass according to the Roman ritual, with musical notation. The fragment consists of a double sheet, and serves as a cover to a sixteenth century cartulary. The measurements are mm. 205 by 311 for the pages and mm. 146 by 242 for the writing. The only non-Visigothic element in the script is, I believe, the use of the apostrophe for the *us* and *ue* symbol.

For the dating of this fragment a *terminus post quem* is probably established by the fact that the Council of Burgos in 1080 ordained the substitution of the Roman for the Mozarabic ritual. Again, the Council of León in 1090 ordered that the *littera Toletana, i.e.* Visigothic script, should be discarded in the writing of liturgical books.[21] This would seem to give us a *terminus ante quem*. Only two dated manuscripts in pure Visigothic written later than 1090 are known, and neither is a liturgical work.[22] However, it is hardly to be supposed that the transition to French minuscule could have taken place immediately, particularly in the northwestern part of the peninsula, where the Visigothic tradition was so strong as to persist in documents until well into the thirteenth century.[23]

[20] For the text cf. the *Liber Antiphonarius* edited by Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, LXXVIII, 648.

[21] I follow the account given by Millares, *Paleografía Española* (Barcelona, 1929), pp. 161–165.

[22] Cf. *ib.*, p. 165. One of the MSS. is a *Beatus* of Silos written in 1091, the other a *Collectio Conciliorum* of Toledo written in 1095.

[23] A document of the year 1234 in Visigothic characters (with admixture of French minuscule) was published (with facsimile) by Martínez Salazar in the *Boletín de la Real Academia Gallega*, VIII (1913), 49–53. I was unable to find this document in the *Archivo Regional* of La Coruña.

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The musical palaeography of the fragment deserves a study which I am not prepared to make. I believe that the notation is not the native Spanish, but the Aquitanian, a diastematic system, in which the musical intervals are indicated by the position of the notes in ascending and descending scale, as in modern music.[24] The single line for the guidance of the reader is visible in the facsimiles (plates IV and V).

4. *Registo Geral, Caixa 244, 1* (capa do Tombo de Silvares), *saec.* XII. The two inner sheets of a gathering, probably from a *Missal* according to the Roman rite.[25] The leaves form the cover of a sixteenth century cartulary. Measurements: mm. 215 by 320 for the pages and mm. 161 by 290 for the writing. Writing in two columns, 39 lines to the column. Ruling with the hard point. This fragment shows the Visigothic script in the process of disintegration, yet the letters are Visigothic, with the exception that the *e* of the French minuscule, which does not reach above the line, alternates with the high Visigothic *e*. In the matter of abbreviations, however, the non-Visigothic elements are very numerous. The *ti* distinction is maintained, but in one place the scribe has incorrectly used the form for assibilated *ti* (plate VI, col. 1, 12, *quanti*). If we accept the date of 1090 for the suppression of Visigothic script in liturgical works, we can hardly assume that this manuscript was written long after that time. Yet to judge from the writing alone, it might well be of the second half of the twelfth century.[26]

5. *Registo Geral, Caixa 284, 12* (capa do Tombo de Barbeita), *saec.* XII. A double sheet from a *Missal* according to the Roman rite, with some musical notation, now serving as a cover for a sixteenth century cartulary. Measurements: mm.

[24] Cf. Sunyol, *Introducció a la Paleografía Musical Gregoriana* (Abadia de Montserrat, 1925), pp. 162–173.

[25] The text in plate VI, col. 1, 26,–col. 2, 35, is in Wilson's edition of the *Gregorian Sacramentary* (*Henry Bradshaw Society*, XLIX, London, 1915), pp. 191–193.

[26] See n. 19.

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204 by 308 for the pages and mm. 142 by 248 for the writing. Ruling with the hard point. The script may be designated as French minuscule with Visigothic reminiscences. Only the letters *g* and *t* retain their peculiar Visigothic forms, and even the non-Visigothic *t* is used in the smaller writing of the antiphons. The persistence of the *ti* distinction is very interesting (plate VII).

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V.—*Homer and the Cult of Heroes*

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Ever since the publication of Wilamowitz's *Homerische Untersuchungen* in 1884 and of Rohde's *Psyche* in 1893, the generally received opinion has been that Homer stands out like an island in the otherwise unbroken current of Greek worship of the dead. Wilamowitz argued that there was no cult of the dead in the *Iliad;* the human being was identical with his body, which after death needed only burial in order to be completely at rest; the life (ψυχή) disappeared into the kingdom 'that no one sees,' of which no one knows anything. As for the *Odyssey*, the *Nekyia* was made up of a series of interpolations; the earliest, which contains the episode of Teiresias, scarcely differed in its ideas from the *Iliad;* the latest must have been composed after 600 B.C., in Orphic circles at Athens. Rohde, whose fascinating book was not especially concerned with the Homeric question, accepted the thesis that Homer represented a period when there was no cult of the dead; and since he recognized the existence of such cult not only in classical times but also among the Mycenaean Greeks, he took considerable pains to establish the isolation of Homer from all the beliefs and practices that are connected with the cult of the dead, and with the cult of heroes as well.

Despite the wide acceptance of Rohde's opinion, there is some reason to think that the evidence ought to be considered afresh. Not only has the position of Homeric studies wholly altered, but two important monographs dealing with the cult of heroes have appeared, which have done a great deal to clarify the religious history of the Greeks. Foucart (1898), who agrees on this point with Rohde, dismisses Homer in a few lines; Farnell (1921) finds Homer's testimony on this matter "inconclusive," and records his impression, in summing up the

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two poems, that "Homer, while probably aware of hero worship and the occasional deification of the mortal, did not accept or did not wish to encourage this vain dream of the self-exaltation of man." In the face of these denials and doubts, let us attempt to summarize the evidence for the continuity of the cult of the dead among the Greeks.

In the Mycenaean age, the archaeological evidence of the cult of the dead seems fairly conclusive. The shaft graves at Mycenae were enclosed as a sacred area within the double ring of standing slabs; there are burnt remains of offerings made to the dead, and an altar, consisting of the hollow ring of stones which is typical of the cult of the dead. Schliemann mentions a black-figured vase of the sixth century B.C. inscribed τō hérooς ém-, which makes it probable, since the fragment was found within the grave circle, that a hero was worshipped in that burial place, and even if not there, certainly within the walls of Mycenae. The entrance of the Tomb of Clytaemnestra also contained objects belonging to the cult of the dead, which show that the cult was continued during the geometric period; the beehive tomb at Dendra recently excavated by Professor Persson, and the beehive tomb at Menidi in Attica, both afford good evidence of a cult, which at Menidi was continued without interruption until some time in the fifth century B.C. At Delos there is a famous Mycenaean tomb which was regarded as a holy place from the time of its building down into the Hellenistic age; and this is particularly noteworthy because in very early times Delos was a pan-Ionian religious centre. All this and much additional evidence is excellently treated in Nilsson's brilliant work on the Minoan-Mycenaean religion (Lund, 1927); and he not only affirms that a cult of the dead existed among the Mycenaean Greeks, but suggests that the power and glory of the Mycenaean kings led directly to their worship as heroes.

When we turn to historic Greece, we find that the cult of the dead and the worship of heroes are everywhere known and practised. There are indeed various kinds of heroes, but it is

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obvious that the so-called epic heroes are especially important in any attempt to reconsider the Homeric evidence and to discover whether Homer was familiar with the cult of the dead and the worship of heroes. The heroes of this kind are called epic because their deeds were celebrated in epic poetry; but it is a feeble and misleading title. One might as well say that Nelson was a lyric hero, because several poets have written odes to Nelson. What is really worth knowing about this group of heroes is the fact that they hold a peculiar place in the traditional history of Greece as well as in the religious practices of the Greeks. From Hesiod on, universal Greek tradition looks back several centuries to the Bronze Age, immediately preceding the Iron Age, and dated by Hesiod as including the war against Thebes and the war against Troy, when 'the divine race of heroes, who are called dèmigods,' lived, fought, and died, with the exception of a few to whom Zeus granted to live in the Isles of the Blest.

To the Greeks of the Iron Age, the relation between what they believed concerning the exploits of the heroes and the worship which they paid to those heroes was direct and clear. They worshipped the heroes for two reasons: first because of their superior civilization and their greatness in war, particularly displayed in their conquest of one of the wealthiest and strongest coast states in Asia Minor, and second because they believed these heroes were Greek heroes, the ancestors of the Greeks of the Iron Age. As ancestors, they were not the private property of those families which claimed descent from some particular hero, but they belonged to the whole Greek people; and their hold upon the Greek mind is demonstrated by several significant facts. Not only the epic but also the tragic poetry of the Greeks is wholly devoted to these heroes; their characters were the channels through which not only Homer and the other epic poets but also Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides chose to convey their instruction to the Greeks; and Pindar, to go no further afield, consecrated to the heroes many of his finest verses.

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A second token of their hold upon the Greeks is the fact that the Greeks bestowed divine ancestry upon these heroes. Until recently, it was thought by many scholars that the ascription of divine ancestry to the men and women of the heroic age proved that these heroic beings were "faded" gods, *verblasste* or *depotenzierte Götter*. Thus K. O. Müller, who was perhaps the first to popularize this theory, asserted that Aegeus was but another name for Poseidon: Glaucus was Poseidon: Xuthus was Apollo, and Admetus was Hades. The principal merit of this theory was that it opened an infinite field to fancy. Eduard Meyer interpreted the marriage of Oedipus as a marriage to his mother the goddess Earth; Odysseus became a dying nature god; Pfister, Deneken, and Usener abounded in this sense. However, this theory itself has faded in the light of the archaeological discoveries, and of the careful discussions of Rohde, Foucart, and Farnell. It is curious to note that one aspect of this theory, namely its insistence that the hero is often the god of his tribe, and that the history of his tribe may be recovered from the story of the hero, bears a close analogy to the theory of the French sociologist Durkheim, who held that the religious beliefs and the gods of a tribe were a projection of its collective consciousness. However that may be, the heroes have now ceased, for most scholars, to appear remote from real history. The Greeks of the Mycenaean Age are the immediate ancestors of the Greeks of the Iron Age. But the Greeks of the Heroic Age are the immediate ancestors of the Greeks of the Iron Age. The Mycenaean Greeks must therefore be identical with the Greeks of the Heroic Age.

The attribution of divine ancestry to these Mycenaean Greeks is neither more nor less than the Greek way of saying that they were collectively remarkable men and women. The members of those earlier generations, excepting only a few of the most negligible mortals, were held to be sufficiently above the level of ordinary men to entitle them to receive worship from their inferiors. It is simply heroization upon a scale

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which converts it into a national act of faith; it is pan-Hellenic, and there are no dissenting voices, except for the alleged dissent of Homer. There is no reason whatever to suppose that the inhabitants of Greece during the period from 1600 to 1100 B.C. were less human or more divine than the warriors who fell at Plataea and at Marathon. The real existence of the earlier group does not of course guarantee that all the various characters sung by the poets really existed; but, as Farnell says, "it would be astonishing if no real names of actual individuals were handed down . . ., though in any special case we may be unable to separate the real from the fictitious." [1]

A third proof of the esteem in which the Greeks held this group of heroes is the extremely wide distribution of their cults. It is unnecessary here even to summarize the facts; we must note in passing that Ionia is far from being devoid of these cults, as one might suppose if Rohde's picture of Ionia, copied and enlarged by Gilbert Murray,[2] were to be taken for the truth.

Finally, the heroes thus created served as models, in several important respects, for subsequent heroization. As the Iron Age progressed, the old tribal groupings were altered: new city-states were formed in large numbers during the prolonged era of colonization, and internal political and social changes brought about the constitution of innumerable new groups, the tribes, demes, phratries, and guilds that are so conspicuous in Greek life. Each of these groups worshipped either a god or a hero as its divine or semidivine ancestor. A good many of these heroes were fictitious, from our point of view; but invariably the basis of their cult, the substance of the very real faith that was expended upon them, was their function as more or less divine ancestors of the group. They were not exactly mediators between man and god, as has often been said, but were rather intermediaries. They linked the group

[1] *Greek Hero Cults*, p. 283.

[2] *Rise of the Greek Epic*[3], pp. 70–75, 144, 274.

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to divinity; and by virtue of the use thus made of the idea of kinship with god, their cult was in so far identical with that of the national heroes. The very fact that every smaller division of the Greek people felt the necessity of this connection with deity shows the power of that impulse which had caused the Greeks to heroize their Mycenaean ancestors. The hero of a group brought that group nearer to deity precisely as the national heroes gave the whole Greek people a comfortable and stimulating conviction of kinship with their gods. It is therefore not surprising that the Greeks multiplied their heroes, and that recorded Greek history is full of hero worship.

Somewhere in the interval between the Mycenaeans and the historic Greeks, Homer is supposed, by the theory that we are examining, to have insulated and isolated himself from the worship of the dead and of heroes. Anyone who is familiar with the histories of Greek religion published during the last forty years knows that most of them have accepted on this one point at least the conclusions of Wilamowitz and of Rohde, no matter how widely they vary in other respects. Schoemann, Gruppe, Deneken, Wide, Wundt, Clemen, Lang, Decharme, Finsler, Fairbanks, Pettazzoni, Samter, C. H. Moore,[3] and Nilsson, all agree with Rohde, with few or no qualifications. As Nilsson puts it, in his excellent *History of Greek Religion* (1925, pp. 135 ff.), "In Homer the cult of the dead is lacking, and the customs and ideas associated with it have been pushed into the background and considerably reduced. Homer represents not a leap, but a break, in the development; the post-Homeric period joins on where the pre-Homeric period had ended."

A number of scholars have protested in general terms against this attempt to isolate Homer, but only a few have dealt specifically with the alleged absence of the cult of the dead and of the cult of heroes. George Foot Moore, who often

[3] *Religious Thought of the Greeks*[2], p. 26: "There is almost nothing bearing on the cult of the dead save possibly in connection with the funeral of Patroclus"; and p. 24: "on the whole the body was identified with the self rather than the soul (ψυχή)."

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presents more historical truth in a single paragraph than is ordinarily to be found in a whole book, suggests that much of the ordinary Greek cultus is absent from Homer not because it is unknown but because it cannot be represented when all the Greeks are far from home engaged in war upon foreign soil.[4] W. R. Halliday insists that "there must have been a continuous tradition of the worship of the dead from Mycenaean times," and that several hero cults were known to the author of the *Odyssey*, while the *Iliad* "contains no reference to hero worship and no traces of a cult of the dead."[5] And L. R. Farnell observes that Homer was aware of sacrifices to ghosts and of divine or semidivine honors paid to certain glorified persons, though he says that the cult value of ἥρως is post-Homeric.[6]

The impression made by Rohde's arguments has therefore been lasting. Rohde himself asserted that the absence of the cult of the dead in Homer was a necessary consequence of Homeric psychology: Homer is supposed to have known nothing of any influence exerted by the *psyche* upon the visible world, and Homer's singular views concerning the *psyche* are in their turn explained as being typical of the beliefs of the Ionian cities in Asia Minor. The whole fabric of their civilization and culture had been violently altered, we are told, by the events leading up to their migration and by the migration itself; they had been forced to abandon many of their local cults, and in particular the worship of their ancestors, which died out, and was assisted into oblivion by the new practice of cremation.

The evidence for the isolation of Homer therefore falls into two classes: (*a*) the internal evidence, consisting in a view of the soul which renders it powerless after death and thereby destroys the basis of cult of the dead; and (*b*) the external evidence, consisting in the theory that among the Ionians, by

[4] *History of Religions*, I, pp. 428, 429.

[5] *Cambridge Ancient History*, II, pp. 626–628.

[6] *Psyche*, Eng. Tr., p. 8.

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reason of the events of their own history, the dead had ceased to receive cult.

It would be absurd, at this late date, to attempt an elaborate and detailed refutation of this theory. And after all, it is notorious that refutation usually leads to almost any result rather than to a calm reconsideration of the evidence. It seems therefore preferable to criticize as briefly as possible the theory which isolates Homer, and then to proceed at once to the statement of an alternative explanation which it is hoped will fit the facts more closely.

In the first place, there is no reason to suppose that the Ionians either forgot their dead or lost the tradition of hero worship in the process of migration. There is conclusive evidence of the cult of heroes of the Mycenaean Age in Clazomenae, Erythrae, Samos, Miletus, Panticapaeum, Clarus, Chios, and Teos; and one of the chief centres of Achilles worship was the Black Sea, in exactly those sites which were colonized by the Milesians during the eighth and seventh centuries. The traditional founders of the twelve Ionian cities traced their descent either to Codrus or to Glaucus; Phocaea was not allowed to join the pan-Ionian amphictyony until it had borrowed three Codrid leaders from Erythrae and Teos. It is true that the Greek population of the Ionian cities was of mixed origin, but all the cities except Ephesus and Colophon celebrated the festival of the Apaturia, derived from Attica; this festival belonged to the phratries, and the phratries certainly worshipped their ancestors. At Teos, the subdivisions of the citizens were called "towers" (πύργοι), and each had its eponymous hero. At Clarus, an elaborate legend told of a contest of divination, held soon after the fall of Troy, in which at least three heroes, Mopsus, Amphilochus, and Calchas took part; and the fame of Mopsus is attested, as Picard remarks in his excellent treatise *Ephèse et Claros*,[7] by various miracles and by the number of cities of which he is the founder or the eponymous hero. The argument does not need

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expansion. Ionian Greeks of course accepted some Asiatic elements in their religion, but the Greek governing aristocracy never lost touch with the tradition of their past or with the worship of their ancestors and their heroes. Rohde's supposition to the contrary has never won wide assent, for the reason that it requires an excessive degree of amnesia on the part of the emigrating Greeks.

In the second place, it may be said at once that the internal evidence for the isolation of Homer is presented in that peculiar manner which was adopted by many Homeric scholars in the nineteenth century. The procedure is worth studying. First the student extracted, from an analysis of several passages in the text, a conclusion which could be stated in dogmatic terms, to the effect that Homer knows nothing of *a* or *b*, or that Homer invariably writes *c* or *d*. Then the student discovered a number of passages which were utterly incompatible with his previous conclusion. These passages immediately ceased to be evidence, at least about Homer: they were proclaimed to be survivals, innovations, exceptions, or simply interpolations. Then another student built upon these foundations.

The assumption which underlies this technical procedure is exceedingly well known.[8] The poems of Homer were regarded as a sort of receptacle filled with miscellaneous facts derived from centuries of mysterious poetical activity. It was only natural that such a theory, which depersonalized the poems and rendered them a dead corpus, should have prevented its adherents from taking into account any explanation of the facts as a whole and as a living unity. However, in these days, it is pretty clear that the old theory has become exhausted: it has accumulated so many difficulties and disregarded so much evidence that it tends to fall of its own weight.

Thus Rohde dismissed the scene in which Theoclymenus beheld the porch and the court filled with hurrying ghosts as

[8] The writer fully recognizes the great and permanent value of the work of such excellent scholars as Rohde and Nägelsbach; it was inevitable that they should sometimes yield to a current although erroneous fashion.

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the work of a later hand;[9] the funeral of Patroclus was 'adopted from an earlier source';[10] the games in honor of Patroclus were a survival of a 'once vigorous worship of the dead';[11] the burning of Elpenor's and Eëtion's weapons was a survival;[12] the funeral feast that Orestes gave Aegisthus was a survival;[13] the *Nekyia* was a late addition, and also a survival;[14] and the story that Odysseus called thrice upon his companions who had fallen at the hands of the Cicones was a 'remarkable vestige of an ancient belief.'[15]

It would be extremely difficult to explain how poets could have introduced into the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* so many unorthodox passages; and even had the poets succeeded, their auditors must have been perplexed by these apparently novel views of life after death. As a matter of fact, the view of the *psyche* that is expressed in these passages is not heretical. Rohde was driven to assume all these 'survivals' and 'additions' because he set out upon his analysis with a predetermined definition of the *psyche* which was bound to exclude much of the available evidence in Homer. According to this definition, which was essentially the same as that arrived at by Nägelsbach in his *Homerische Theologie*, *psyche* does not represent what we are accustomed to call 'spirit' as opposed to 'body,' but "is described as being without feeling, deserted by mind and the organs of mind," while after death "flesh, bones, and sinews, the midriff, the seat of all the faculties of mind and will . . . are all gone for ever." Rohde cites a few passages from Homer;[16] but our criticism of this definition must refer to Nägelsbach, since he collected most of the material. Nägelsbach announces on page 354 that the 'body is the condition and carrier of the spirit, the vehicle and centre

[9] *Psyche*, Eng. tr., p. 9.
[10] *Op. cit.*, p. 14.
[11] *Op. cit.*, p. 15.
[12] *Op. cit.*, p. 17.
[13] *Op. cit.*, p. 18.
[14] *Op. cit.*, pp. 32, 38.
[15] *Op. cit.*, p. 42.
[16] *Psyche*, Eng. tr., pp. 5–10.

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of the spirit as well as its organ,' and his proof of his thesis rests upon the assertion (*ibid.*) that φρένες (= the midriff or diaphragm) are the purely corporeal principle of spiritual life. But this assertion is weakened, or rather destroyed, by his admission on page 356 that the word φρένες is often actually used in the sense of 'spirit, disposition in general, and understanding,' and that φρήν is everywhere 'psychisch' and not corporeal. A little farther on (p. 358) it develops that θυμός is the 'incorporeal principle of spiritual activities,' but that it is "connected with a corporeal organ," and that the θυμός inheres in the diaphragm (p. 363). Furthermore, the dead are 'shadows, unsubstantial heads and images, comparable to smoke.' But the Homeric picture of the dead is 'full of contradictions' (p. 366).

Such are the difficulties into which Nägelsbach, and Rohde after him, fell. These difficulties disappear when the intention of the poet, and the context in which these words occur, are more attentively considered. There is no passage in all Homer in which it is not perfectly clear whether the poet meant φρήν or φρένες to be taken as referring to the body or to the mind. And the moment we are willing to admit that a poet, in Greek or in any other language, has a right to employ one word in different senses in different contexts, the whole argument of Nägelsbach vanishes. Homer says that the ψυχαί of dead men or heroes go to the house of Hades, that they are eager that their bodies be properly burned and buried, and that they have various sorts of knowledge and emotions; and then this picture of the dead is supposed to "contradict" Homer's own views of the *psyche*, because the *psyche* of a dead man who has been burned no longer has a diaphragm and therefore should no longer have a mind. *Psyche*, in Homer, generally means something approximating the English word 'life,' and Homer's picture of the ψυχαί in Hades is a picture of what is left of the 'lives' of these heroes and heroines after their death. The pathos and the power of that picture are in large part due to the fact that these "shadows," so far from being devoid of

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thought and feeling, are full of love and hatred, of family affection and of pride. Nor is it true that these "shadows" are devoid of influence upon the living. One of them suffices to fill Achilles with awe and grief; Odysseus and his men, though brave, are terrified when they learn that they must visit the "house of Hades and dread Persephone"; pale fear seizes upon Odysseus himself at the cry of the ghosts; and a dead hero gives Odysseus guidance for all that remains of his life.

There is therefore nothing in the evidence, either internal or external, which should separate Homer from the cult of the dead and of heroes. The next step is to search for an explanation of his relationship to those cults and to the ideas associated with them.

The first and most important evidence on this point is that of Homer himself. Homer says that he is describing the acts of a certain group of men who lived before the fall of Troy. The whole group of combatants are heroes, and their predecessors for several generations are heroes. In particular, all the great leaders are heroes, and all the great leaders are kings, and belong to the family of Zeus. Every king is descended from a god or a goddess, and their personal power is the token of their divine descent. There are many gradations of this heroic power; the children of the great gods are mightier than the children of the lesser gods, in exact proportion to the power of the parent; the rule is stated by Achilles when he kills Asteropaeus.[17] In precise accordance with this principle, earlier generations, most of whom are necessarily closer to their divine parents, are represented by Homer as surpassing the heroes who fell at Troy;[18] and Homer expressly and repeatedly affirms that the operation of this principle has produced, by the time at which he is speaking, a generation of such marked inferiority, that for example "even the two best men of the people, such as mortals now are, could not easily lift from the

[17] *Il.*, XXI, 190, 191.

[18] *Od.*, VIII, 223; *Il.*, I, 260 ff.

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ground to a wagon" a stone that Hector was able to throw with ease.[19]

This is equivalent to saying that Homer is speaking at a time when the age of the heroes had been terminated, probably for several centuries, and that he is well aware of the differences between that age and his own. There is plenty of additional evidence that Homer composed his poems in the key of conscious and reasonably consistent archaism; bronze he represents as common and iron as still rare, cavalry is absent, the trumpet is not used (except in a simile), there are no rhapsodes, and, with great faithfulness, Homer has preserved the Achaean geography of Greece.[20] With regard to the practice of cremation our knowledge is not yet sufficient to establish whether it is a real or only an apparent exception to his archaizing. At any rate, Paton's discoveries at Assarlik show that cremation was in use there, probably in the ninth century B.C.; and the oldest graves of the Dipylon period in Athens are also cremation graves.[21] One thing is certain: it is not legitimate to argue, as Rohde does, that "the real purpose and the original occasion of the practice of cremation" is the complete banishment of the *psyche* once and for all into the other world, but that the "Greeks of Homer, accustomed by long usage to the burning of the dead, are free from all fears of haunting ghostly presences," and "thought only of the destructive powers of that element . . . , and of the benefit that they were conferring upon the soul in freeing it by fire from the lifeless body, thus adding their assistance to its own efforts to get free." The practice of cremation does not prove the existence of any particular definite belief about the soul; it went on for centuries in Greece, side by side with burial. Nothing can possibly prove that the Greeks of Homer had practised cremation or anything else so long that they had forgotten why they did it. The "Greeks of Homer" were created by

[19] *Il.*, XII, 447.

[20] See for these and other details Bury in the *Cambridge Ancient History*, II, 513, 514, and Murray, *Rise of the Greek Epic*[3], pp. 121, 122.

[21] Cf. Schweitzer, *Ath. Mitt.*, XLIII (1918), 49 ff.

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Homer; the only question is whether their author attributed to them the practice of cremation because he himself was familiar with it and thought it suitable to heroes, or for some other reason.

In all likelihood, one reason why Homer adopted cremation is that the expense of cremation limited it to kings and the wealthy class, and it therefore seemed to him one of the ways in which he could enhance the grandeur of his subject. Another reason is most certainly the one given in *Iliad*, VII, 409 f.:

> οὐ γάρ τις φειδὼ νεκύων κατατεθνηώτων
> γίγνετ', ἐπεί κε θάνωσι, πυρὸς μειλισσέμεν ὦκα.

"For dead corpses is there no stinting, when they once are dead, of the swift propitiation of fire." The statement that the dead must be appeased by fire means that the dead will be angry if fire, regarded as an essential part of the honor and ritual of burial, is withheld.

So far, Homer's own testimony that he was attempting to describe the age when the heroes lived, probably several centuries previous to his own time, is confirmed by the general accuracy of the setting in which he placed his characters. More could not be expected: he was writing a poem and not a volume of the "*Ionische Mitteilungen.*" However, he accomplished this difficult feat of archaizing with an intellectual skill and power which ought forever to dispose of the supposition that he shows signs of naïveté or of a primitive mind. It takes more than mere archaeological knowledge to compose such a poem. The manuals and the dictionaries all agree that Homer used the word ἥρως in the senses of 'excellent, noble, brave warrior, brave man'; but inasmuch as Homer was archaizing, it is obvious that the dictionaries and manuals are wrong. Homer applies the word to the living, because these living men, who are characters in his poem, have the semidivine status which is the mark of the hero throughout Greek history; and Homer, for the same reason, gave to the gods the great rôle which they play. Homer was compelled by the tradition

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current in his own time, and by the actual cult then going on of many of these traditional heroes, to represent the gods as displaying a lively interest, both in the heroes who were their own children and natural *protégés*, and also in each other, to the lasting scandal of Xenophanes and kindred chilly reformers ever since antiquity.

Now there is one feature in Homer's picture of the gods that is quite unmistakable; the only excuse for calling attention to it is that it suggests a solution to the alleged absence of hero cult in Homer. Search as we may, we never find Homer representing one god as worshipping another god. The lesser gods stand in more or less awe of Zeus; they implore his aid or dread his anger, but they do not worship. And yet we all know that the cult of the gods is not absent from Homer; it is present in abundance, and it is furnished not by ordinary men, but by heroes, men with more divine blood in them than ordinary men have, but who nevertheless are depicted as bearing the same relation of inferiority to the gods that ordinary men bear to heroes. Their condition of mortality makes the heroes pitiable in the eyes of the gods; and though their strength and courage, or a peculiarly happy marriage such as that of Menelaus, may entitle a few heroes to privileged treatment or even to admission to Olympus, yet as a rule the heroes die, and their souls are hurled down to the house of Hades. Hence it is only right that the heroes should worship the gods. If the society in Homer were exclusively divine, with neither men nor heroes, we should hear nothing of the cult of the gods. We have all read the complaints of the critics about the alleged secularism and impiety of Homer; and it must be admitted that Homer does not invariably represent Zeus and Hera, Ares and Aphrodite, as providing models of deportment for human worshippers. But Homer's impiety really consisted in having a sufficiently vigorous imagination to see the gods treating each other as approximate equals, while Homer's critics keep on expecting the gods to feel and to act towards each other as the critics, who worship from below, feel towards the gods.

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However, the criticisms of Xenophanes and Plato were long ago adequately answered by Aristotle in one of the best chapters (25) of the *Poetics*. And it must be remembered that Homer satisfies a rational piety by often portraying the gods as engaged in the performance of their function as defenders of the faithful and patrons of the virtuous.

This discussion of the cult of the gods in Homer indicates the reason why the cult of heroes is, though certainly not absent from the poems, yet of rare occurrence. It is rare because as a general rule there is no one to do the worshipping. A condition of inferiority is a prerequisite to worship: and the heroes are therefore precluded from worshipping each other. Of course a large number of heroes die during the action of the poems, and the proper rites are paid to these dead heroes; but such funeral ceremonies ought not to be equated with the worship of heroes, but rather with the so-called worship of the dead. Farnell has proposed to use the term 'tendance,' to refer to that part of the worship of the dead which does not imply a superhuman status of the dead; but whatever term we use, it is clear that there is a difference between the worship paid by an ordinary living man to an ordinary man who is dead and the worship paid by an ordinary living man to a hero. And Homer shows his familiarity with the hero worship of his own time by his references to Heracles, Menelaus, Helen, Erechtheus, and Ino-Leucothea. In these cases Homer does not attribute worship to the actors in his poem; and his allusions are quite consistent with his position as an archaizer.

There is in Homer one example of hero worship in the fullest sense of the term. In the *Nekyia*, in a passage of great poetic splendor, Odysseus descends to the kingdom of the Dead, who are mostly heroes of past and consequently more powerful generations than his own, performs a typical chthonian sacrifice, accompanied by vows of similar sacrifice upon his return to Ithaca to all the dead and particularly to Teiresias, and successfully consults the oracular hero Teiresias.[22] This is

[22] Cf. Pausanias 1, 17, 5 on the Thesprotian rivers, from which Pausanias thinks that Homer drew his picture of Hades. A famous νεκυομαντεῖον was situated there.

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genuine worship of heroes, and at the same time genuine worship of the dead, offered by one of Homer's most important characters. Here and here only in Homer's story is the condition of inferiority, the prerequisite to worship of heroes, fulfilled; Odysseus and his men, though heroes themselves, have every right to feel themselves inferior to this awful gathering of all the even greater dead who have perished; and the house of Hades, which envelops the dead, is the tomb before which worship is offered. Furthermore, the emotional signs of inferiority, fear of harm and hope of favors, are repeatedly emphasized in the narrative.

By way of conclusion, let us turn to the funeral of Patroclus. The richness and the elaboration of the ceremonies cause this funeral, with its dirge, its outpouring of blood and later of wine round the corpse, the slaying and holocaust of horses and house dogs and the twelve Trojan captives, the building of the barrow and the celebration of the games, to resemble worship. And it undoubtedly is worship, but it is the worship given by a lover and a friend, by an equal to one whose only superiority consists in the tragic status conferred by death; and therefore it is not hero cult, in the sense in which we have hitherto used that term. In other respects, the two heroes remain of equal rank; both shall die and both shall be buried in the same grave. Achilles acts throughout because of his grief for Patroclus, and his wrath at the loss of Patroclus; it is indeed hinted that he may fear Patroclus if he delays the burial unduly, but he certainly does not feel the terror that an ordinary man might feel before a hero or that Odysseus felt in Hades, nor does he expect superhuman favors from Patroclus. The ritual of the cult or tendance of the dead, which may so easily be a repetition of empty form, is here filled full by genuine emotion; and Homer seizes the occasion to assert the survival of the human soul, which is hurt by negligence after its separation from the body, just as it is helped by the due accomplishment of rites.

The worship of heroes, and the cult of the dead, and the

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survival of souls who are still poignantly interested in the events of the upper world, are therefore not only familiar to Homer, but are an integral part of his picture of the divine, heroic, and human world. The religious tradition of the Greeks changes, but is continuous. These cults, and the ideas connected with them, are not vestiges or 'survivals,' except in the way that everything which is alive at a given time may be said to be a survival; they are not blindly introduced by an ignorant poet into a poem where they would shock and surprise by their lack of harmony with all else. Homer devoted his genius to the composition of two poems dealing with the sorrows and the glory of certain heroes many of whom were worshipped in his own time wherever there were Greeks, in Ionia no less than elsewhere; the inevitable result was that these poems contributed to the secure hold of these heroes upon the religious imagination of the Greeks. In accordance with contemporary beliefs, Homer endowed the heroes with divine ancestry and with superhuman powers; he thereby made their status coincide in every essential with the status of the heroes of later days. The two poems are much more as well, but they are certainly our first document in the history of hero cult, and the unhistorical isolation of Homer and of Ionia will disappear if the document is given the place that it deserves.

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VI.—*The Murderers of Laius*

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Near a fork in the road leading from Delphi to Thebes, Oedipus met an elderly man with his attendants; after an altercation, he slew not only the old man but, as he supposed, all the party, and went on his way. Apparently the incident almost faded from his memory,—a surprising fact, perhaps, but perhaps less surprising in the good old days of the heroic age than in our day; at any rate, when he arrived at Thebes and almost immediately became king of a distressed land, his suspicions were not aroused, if we are to believe Sophocles, when he learned the generally accepted story of the death of his predecessor King Laius. To be sure, he learned only the barest outline of the story, and had no idea from what source it emanated (*O.T.* 105; 109–113; 116–123; 292 f.). And certain it is that if his suspicions had been fully aroused at once, the train of events comprising most of the antecedents and the action of the *Oedipus Tyrannus* would have been blocked from the start. As it is, Sophocles somewhat strains our credulity in this as in other matters lying "outside the action proper"; so Aristotle noted (*Poetics*, 1454b, ἔξω τῆς τραγῳδίας). Of his successors in the treatment of the story, Corneille, Dryden, and Voltaire found it difficult to account for this delayed suspicion, Corneille blandly ignoring it, Dryden betraying what Jebb calls "an uneasy conscience," and glossing it over by suggesting that the story of Laius' death had been forgotten "like a morning dream," Voltaire elaborating an explanation as improbable as the circumstance to be explained.[1] Now if Sophocles, too, puts a strain on our credulity at this point, it is best to admit, with Jebb, that "the true defence of this improbability consists in frankly recognizing it."[2] Never-

[1] Cf. Jebb, *Introd. to O.T.*, pp. xlv–xlvii.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. xxv.

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theless it seems to me that Sophocles, far from bungling the matter, has made a virtue of necessity. The necessity is to delay the ἀναγνώρισις and make it coincide with the περιπέτεια. The virtue consists in the choice and the manipulation of a method that heightens the tragic irony of Oedipus' position, and that also derives reasonably, as we should expect of Sophocles, from the character of one of the persons in the play.

In order to appreciate the poet's method, we must first review the passages in the play in which reference is made to the death of Laius. The earliest reference comes from Creon, who reports the command of Phoebus, enjoining on Oedipus the wreaking of vengeance on the unknown murderers of the former king:

> τούτου θανόντος νῦν ἐπιστέλλει σαφῶς
> τοὺς αὐτόεντας χειρὶ τιμωρεῖν τινας (107 f.).

We can not help noting at once the use of the plural, "murderers," in spite of the fact that we, like the Athenian audience and the gods, know full well that it was one man, Oedipus, who did the fell deed. But how does the phrase fall on his ears? τοὺς αὐτόεντας . . . τινάς,—a vague phrase, but enough to let him infer that Laius died a violent death at the hands of several definite human beings, as yet unidentified, but to be sought out. There is nothing yet to excite his suspicions.

It soon transpires that this story was brought to Thebes by the one survivor of Laius' party, and that he had reported but one fact,—namely, that a number of brigands had fallen on Laius.

> λῃστὰς ἔφασκε συντυχόντας οὐ μιᾷ
> ῥώμῃ κτανεῖν νιν, ἀλλὰ σὺν πλήθει χερῶν (122 f.).

Any self-incriminating suspicions on the part of Oedipus are further disarmed by the emphatic position of λῃστάς, given in the plural, and expanded both by the explicit denial of a single murderer's responsibility and by the suggestion of a

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crowd.[3] In spite of this very pointed use of the plural Oedipus immediately replies with a question in the *singular*:

πῶς οὖν ὁ λῃστής κτλ. (124 f.). "How could the *murderer* have dared the deed, unless bribed?" Jebb (note on 294) regards the reversion from plural to singular as "unconscious." That is a natural, but not complete, explanation. Oedipus is politically minded: it is not merely Laius, but the monarchy that has fallen. And, furthermore, perhaps because he, too, has once killed his man and embers of old memories are faintly fanned, he pictures in his mind an individual murderer who strikes the blow, even though he can conceive of the deed only as the result of a bribe. So, too, in the immediate sequel, he declares his intention of taking vengeance, both in behalf of the murdered man and in his own behalf, on the *murderer*, thus unconsciously by the use of the singular giving a powerful impetus to the irony of the whole passage.

ὅστις γὰρ ἦν ἐκεῖνον ὁ κτανών κτλ. (139).

Presently, in making his proclamation and curse on the unknown agency that caused the death of Laius, Oedipus again uses the singular:

ὅστις ποθ' ὑμῶν Λάϊον τὸν Λαβδάκου
κάτοιδεν ἀνδρὸς ἐκ τίνος διώλετο,
τοῦτον κελεύω πάντα σημαίνειν ἐμοί. (224 ff.),[4]

"Whoever of you knows at what man's hands Laius perished, him I bid reveal this man to me." And Oedipus proceeds to deal with this culprit,—τὸν αὐτόχειρα (231),[5]—and his possible

[3] πλήθει χερῶν. Cf. 541 f.; it is folly to attempt to win royal power from a tyrant "without numbers and friends," says Oedipus in his flyting with Creon. Cf. Dryden, I, 1.

"He said, a band of robbers watched their passage,
Who took advantage of a narrow way
To murder Laius and the rest; himself
Left too for dead."

[4] Cf. Dryden, I, 1, "the murderer" (in the curse).

[5] Cf. also 266.

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shielders, in such a way as again to expose himself to the arrows of irony. To be sure, he incidentally reckons with the contingency that the perpetrator of the deed may have had accomplices: he curses him whether the undetected offender be single or one of several.

> κατεύχομαι δὲ τὸν δεδρακότ', εἴτε τις
> εἷς ὢν λέληθεν εἴτε πλειόνων μέτα, κτλ. (246 f.).

But when the chorus, enjoined to assist in the man-hunt, make reply through their leader, it is to a single culprit that reference is made:

> οὔτ' ἔκτανον γὰρ οὔτε τὸν κτανόντ' ἔχω
> δεῖξαι (276 f.).

Yet before Teiresias, already summoned, enters, the leader of the chorus, referring to the current, now almost forgotten version of the story of the death of Laius, makes the remark: "He was said to have met his death at the hands of certain wayfarers" (πρός τινων ὁδοιπόρων, 292). With this version of the story, Oedipus himself immediately concurs; it is what he has heard (293). We note that it preserves the plural, the form in which the survivor brought the tale to Thebes, though substituting "wayfarers" for the "brigands" of line 122. Oedipus does not demur at the changed description,—wayfarers or brigands, it matters not; he recognizes in it what may be termed the vulgate version of the story. And that version includes several persons. But the survivor, the witness, is not yet present to be cross-examined (293). And the leader of the chorus, thinking intently of the culprit, whose fear of the curse must reveal or exile him, refers to him in the singular,—unconsciously, Jebb observes. Oedipus, however, is not so certain that the slayer's conscience will prove to be tender; a man who shrinks not from a deed fears not a word (295). Oedipus still carries in his mind the image of a single murderer, as person or as type.

Teiresias enters, and Oedipus, in charging him to reveal

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what he knows, uses the vulgate version, and speaks of "the murderers" (τοὺς κτανόντας, 308). Teiresias, when driven to speak out of the fulness of his knowledge, naturally denounces Oedipus in the singular as the murderer (φονέα, 362), and refers in the singular to "the man whom thou hast long sought" (449). In the ensuing *stasimon* the chorus, their ears still ringing with the amazing words of Teiresias, follow imaginatively the fortunes of the red-handed murderer, whoever he may be,—not Oedipus, they feel confident (463 ff.).

Creon appears, injured dignity incarnate, and is denounced by Oedipus in a perverted form of what is becoming a conventional phrase, as φονεύς of himself and as λῃστής of his kingly power (534). Oedipus, for his part, cannot conceive that unless Teiresias has conspired with Creon he would have spoken of the slaying of Laius as his deed (572). We may note in passing the plural form of the phrase τὰς ἐμὰς . . . Λαΐου διαφθορὰς, significant only as reflecting Oedipus' agitated state of mind, which views a matter so nearly touching his interests and happiness as of utter importance, and therefore dignifies it with a plural.

Little should be made of the fact that Oedipus, in recounting to Jocasta his supposed grievance against Creon, says that Creon accuses him (through Teiresias) of being the murderer (φονέα) of Laius (703); in the context anything but a singular noun would be forced; the undertone of irony nevertheless gains by each repeated instance of the sort.

Jocasta, to convince Oedipus of the untrustworthiness of soothsayers, briefly recounts the story of the murder of Laius in the vulgate form, mentioning foreign brigands (ξένοι λῃσταί, 715) who slew him "where three highways met"; and she also cites the previous exposure of her child as proof that that child was not the murderer (φονέα, 721) of its father, despite Apollo's oracle. The verbal opposition of the vulgate and the true versions of the death of Laius is becoming insistent; the moment is almost ripe for it to be employed with still more telling effect.

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Oedipus starts at the mention of "the place where three highways met"; he elicits from Jocasta the fuller account of the death of Laius; and, scenting a fatal connection between it and his own adventure at such a spot, he ascertains the source of the story, namely, the servant, the sole survivor of Laius' party. Incidentally he hears of the servant's subsequent career, to which we must revert presently. Oedipus asks that the servant be summoned, and Jocasta assents (769; cf. 861). But before the servant appears, Jocasta learns from Oedipus his own tale, somewhat strangely withheld from her to this moment, though the withholding, quite necessary for the plot, may be justified as falling among matters ἔξω τῆς τραγῳδίας. Oedipus is full of apprehension; Jocasta is confident, for prophecies about Laius have already proved false. On one point, however, Oedipus rests his hopes and his fears; that is, on the discrepancy in one particular between the servant's story and his own grim adventure at the triple ways.

> ληστὰς ἔφασκες αὐτὸν ἄνδρας ἐννέπειν
> ὥς νιν κατακτείναιεν. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἔτι
> λέξει τὸν αὐτὸν ἀριθμόν, οὐκ ἐγὼ 'κτανον·
> οὐ γὰρ γένοιτ' ἂν εἷς γε τοῖς πολλοῖς ἴσος·
> εἰ δ' ἄνδρ' ἔν' οἰόζωνον αὐδήσει, σαφῶς
> τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἤδη τοὔργον εἰς ἐμὲ ῥέπον. (842 ff.).

Here, then, is the test; if the servant adheres to his tale of several robbers, Oedipus is acquitted; if he now speaks of but one wayfarer, Oedipus is implicated. One cannot be the same as many. Jocasta, though but half convinced,—for the apparent foiling of the earlier oracle fills her whole horizon, —assents and summons the servant.

Of the episode that follows, little need be said. The visit of the Corinthian messenger, beginning auspiciously, reveals just what is needed to identify Oedipus as the murderer of Laius, *if* the shepherd who once delivered the infant Oedipus to him proves to be the same person as the old servant who has already been summoned to give information on a different point.

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This identity Jocasta divines in a flash when the messenger ventures the guarded remark that the other shepherd was reputed to be one of the household of Laius (1042); and she passionately and naturally, if illogically, seeks all too late to prevent further investigations. Oedipus misunderstands her motive, and she rushes forth to her end.

The old servant of Laius, already summoned, at length enters, to be confronted by the Corinthian messenger. The two lines of evidence about the identity of Oedipus and the murderer of Laius thus converge. But although the Theban servant was summoned for the specific purpose of being asked whether one or more than one brigand had murdered Laius, it has often been noted (for example, by Voltaire, in fault-finding mood) that no question is asked on this point. But, as Jebb has urged, the omission "is better than consistent; it is natural. A more urgent question has thrust the other out of sight." It may be added that the presence of the Theban servant is required for the dovetailing of the evidence about Oedipus' babyhood, and that it is sufficiently explained by his having been summoned for a quite different reason. This pretext having served its purpose, the question of brigand or brigands quietly drops out of view, and the catastrophe is sufficiently promoted by the discovery of the origin of Oedipus. This establishes him as the son of Laius; but it does not directly carry forward his knowledge of the fact that he did on a definite occasion kill Laius beyond the strong presentiment which he felt when the triple ways were first mentioned (715; cf. 726 ff.), a presentiment which needed to be confirmed or disproved by investigation about this very matter of brigands, whether one or several. In other words, his knowledge that he has indeed killed Laius is not directly established, but is inferred from the discovery of his origin and from the discovery that he has fulfilled the half of the Delphic oracle that prophesied incest; *ergo*, his inference would run, presumably the other half that foretold parricide has been fulfilled, in view of his previous strong suspicions on this score.

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The dramatic usefulness of the ambiguous story of the death of Laius is now clear; it serves on the one hand, by its use of the untrue tale of brigands, to keep Oedipus plausibly in the dark as to his identity till the convenient moment for the *περιπέτεια*, also providing a definite test-point of the kind characteristic of the modern courtroom or detective story. On the other hand, by its use of the true version of a single murderer which Oedipus himself unconsciously or intuitively uses at times, it has served the needs of tragic irony, or as Lewis Campbell would prefer to term it, "pathetic contrast."[6]

It remains to inquire how far it was possible or natural for Greeks to speak thus ambiguously of an event, vacillating between singular and plural in an important detail. Of course the use of the plural substantive where the singular would seem more natural is a common and characteristic phase of Greek idiom, especially in poetry. The grammarians provide numerous examples.[7] Of common varieties I may mention the "plural of majesty";[8] the "allusive plural," in which an unnamed individual may be referred to in the plural, as when the shade of Clytaemnestra in the *Eumenides* speaks of what she has suffered *πρὸς τῶν φιλτάτων*, meaning Orestes,[9] or when in our play Teiresias in intentionally vague language alludes to Oedipus' relations with Jocasta, *σὺν τοῖς φιλτάτοις αἴσχισθ' ὁμιλοῦντα* (366); the masculine plural used often in tragedy for the feminine singular;[10] and the so-called plural of modesty, analogous to the "editorial 'we.'"[11] With these varieties I should connect two others, neither of which has been sufficiently studied: one is the "we" used by a speaker in a Platonic dialogue, including himself and by courtesy his interlocutor, but not to be confused with the "we" that the

[6] *Introd. to O.T.*, pp. 126–133.

[7] Cf. Kühner, *Ausführliche Grammatik der Griechischen Sprache*, § 348; Smyth, *Greek Grammar for Colleges*, §§ 1000–1012.

[8] *θρόνοι* (*Ant.* 1041); *ἡμᾶς* (*Alc.* 680).

[9] *Eum.* 100.

[10] Cf. Soph. *Ant.* 926; *El.* 399; Eur. *Alc.* 383; *I.T.* 399.

[11] *ἡμῖν*, Xen. *Cyr.* I, 1, 1.

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selfconscious mouthpiece of a philosophic school might affect.[12] The other somewhat neglected use of the plural is found especially in tragedy; the use of the plural of a single event viewed emotionally as of great interest or importance to the speaker. I should describe it conveniently as the "plural of tragic importance," or the "emotional plural." I have already called attention to the phrase *τὰς ἐμὰς Λαΐου διαφθοράς*,[13] used by Oedipus to refer to the murder of Laius with which Teiresias charged him. Other instances in our play, some of them classified by Kühner under the plural of majesty, seem to me to be better explained as "emotional": *τὰ μητρὸς νυμφεύματα* (980), used by Jocasta, "marriage with thy mother"; *ἀδήλων θανάτων* (496), by the Chorus, of "the undiscovered murderer" of Laius; *τοὺς τεκόντας* (1176), by the servant, of the *father* of Oedipus; *τοῖς φυτεύσασιν* (1007), by Oedipus, of Merope. Still more striking are the plurals that the remorseful Oedipus uses of his mother and of his father respectively at the moment of complete enlightenment, in self-accusation,

ξὺν οἷς τ'
οὐ χρῆν ὁμιλῶν, οὕς τέ μ' οὐκ ἔδει κτανών (1185 f.);

and the supreme instance occurs where the complex relationships of the household of Oedipus are held up for horror-stricken contemplation:

πατέρας, ἀδελφούς, παῖδας, αἷμ' ἐμφύλιον,
νύμφας γυναῖκας μητέρας τε, κτλ. (1406 f.).

Other instances could easily be multiplied from other plays; but sufficient evidence has been cited for the present purpose. "Greek writers," remarks Professor Smyth, "often shift from

[12] So I have argued, against Burnet, in interpreting *Phaedo*, 70 D, 75 D; *Harv. Stud.* xxix (1918), 5. I might call attention, in passing, to another Platonic use of the plural with delicious effect, at the beginning of the *Ion;* the pompous rhapsode reports that he has just won a first prize at Epidaurus: *τὰ πρῶτα τῶν ἄθλων ἠνεγκάμεθα.* "Bravo," replies Socrates, noting the plural; "See to it that 'we' win at the Panathenaic Festival, too" (*Ion* 530 B). Lindbergh's "we" was different.

[13] 572; see p. 79.

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a particular to a general statement and *vice versa*, thus permitting a free transition from singular to plural or from plural to singular." [14]

But where, after all, did the ambiguity with regard to the story of Laius' death originate? With the untruthful story brought by the Theban servant; and it is a characteristic bit of Sophoclean art that the motive for the prevarication should be unobtrusively suggested, and should issue from the character of the servant. What do we know about him? He was a home-born slave, δοῦλος οὐκ ὠνητός, ἀλλ' οἴκοι τραφείς (1123), that is, one of the most trusted class of servants; so Jocasta distinctly says, for when he asked of her after the death of Laius that he be sent away from the town to the pastures, she readily sent him, "for he was worthy, for a slave, to win even a greater boon than that" (758–764); and the leader of the chorus later observes of him that he was indeed one of Laius' servants, and, he adds quite gratuitously, "trusty as any man, for a shepherd" (εἴπερ τις ἄλλος πιστὸς ὡς νομεὺς ἀνήρ, 1118). Furthermore, this trusty servant is prone to pity; for when he was bidden to make away with the infant Oedipus, it was in pity (κατοικτίσας, 1178) that he gave him instead to the Corinthian. That is essential for the plot, and is of course common in many other tales of children exposed in infancy and reappearing later. But it is also an indication that the trusty servant is not above practising a deception.

Years pass; and it falls to his lot to accompany Laius on his ill-fated expedition to Delphi. He alone, of the party of Laius, escaped unperceived the murderous blows of angry Oedipus. Not an heroic escape, to be sure; he might, with greater resolution, have died fighting for his old master. What account could he, the trusty and sensitive retainer, bring back to Thebes? That Laius was dead, of course, and,

[14] *Op. cit.*, § 1012, citing Xen. *Hiero*, 5, 4. For Latin parallels see O. Weise, *Language and Character of the Roman People*, p. 44: "The plural is employed instead of the singular to express emphatically and distinctly the strength of any emotion. This is particularly remarkable in the case of abstract words." (Examples are cited.)

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to save in some degree his own good name, that the party of Laius had battled against odds,—against a band of robbers, not a single wayfarer. With such an apparently innocent deception, I take it, he tried to save his reputation. And so, indeed, the scholiast implies.[15] One is irresistibly reminded of "valiant Jack" Falstaff's "eleven men in buckram": for when he is set upon by his two friends in disguise, "Falstaff, after a blow or two, runs away," but when he comes to tell his tale, he was "at half-sword with a dozen of them two hours together," or with "two or three and fifty," and the "men in buckram" whom he vanquished grow from two to four, from seven to nine, to eleven at last. "O monstrous"! cries Prince Hal, "eleven buckram men grown out of two"![16] So with the servant of Laius, who is compelled much later to "mark now how a plain tale shall put [him] down." Most modern editors of Sophocles, including Jebb, fail to call attention to the motives that led the servant to bring a distorted story; not so E. Wunder,[17] who suggests explicitly that the story was invented by the survivor "quo magis poenam neglecti desertique regis effugeret," and that it also delays the revelation of Oedipus as the murderer. Paley argues that "the report of the attendant must be supposed to precede the arrival of Oedipus at Thebes. He can therefore have had no reason for his falsehood except the natural temptation to veil his cowardice by exaggerating the force from which he fled."

Either when the servant told his tale, or more probably shortly thereafter,—though Sophocles does not clearly preserve the indications of time at this point,[18]—he found Oedipus on

[15] ἄκρως δὲ ὑπέγραψε τὸ ἦθος τῶν δειλῶν· ἅμα μὲν γὰρ ἐξαίρουσι τὰ πεπραγμένα, ἵνα μὴ δόξωσι διὰ δειλίαν φευγεῖν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ ἐν παραφρονήσει ὄντες τὰ βραχέα μείζω δοξάζουσι. (Cited, in modern editions, apparently only by Bruhn, in his revision of the Schneidewin-Nauck edition.)

[16] Shakspere, *Henry IV*, II, 2 and 4. For another amusing and close analogy, see the three versions of an adventure in Spain as related by J. M. Kemble, and recorded by Frances M. Brookfield, *The Cambridge 'Apostles,'* p. 171.

[17] Fourth ed. revised by Wecklein, 1875. Wunder was followed by T. Mitchell, 1841; W. B. Jones, 1867, citing Falstaff; similarly F. H. M. Blaydes, 1859.

[18] Cf. Jebb, *ad* 736 and 758. Corneille has the servant wounded and helpless for more than a year, IV, 4.

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the throne of Thebes. I am inclined to believe that he recognized in the new king the murderer of his old master,[19] for the interval of time was not long. Perhaps he even had begun to reflect on the old prophecies about that child of Laius who was to slay his father; for he had been familiar with them (1175), and he at least could not be sure that the infant had died. Possibly he even recognized in the form of the new king of Thebes some resemblance to Laius, as Jocasta herself recognized it (743). What an intolerable position for a trusty old servant, caught in a mesh of circumstances for which he feels no slight qualms of responsibility! No wonder that he begs to be sent away from this city of unhappy memories to the pastures. And when he is later summoned and confronted by the Corinthian, who, we note, immediately recognizes him, what wonder that he seeks as long as possible to evade the issue, to hold his tongue about matters that he has long sought to put out of mind? But it is too late; his deeds, his well-meaning version of the death of Laius, the knowledge locked in his memory, have done their worst for Oedipus, and have contributed notably to the skill with which Sophocles has wrought his drama.

[19] So Corneille's servant is made to say quite explicitly. Voltaire makes Phorbas (the servant) subject to suspicion of having murdered Laius, and has him sent away for safety by Jocasta, who trusts him (I, 3). When he confronts Oedipus, he immediately recognizes the king as the murderer of Laius (IV, 2). Patin (*Études sur les Tragiques Grecs*, p. 167) suggests that it was *une reserve douloureuse* that prompted the servant in Sophocles to hold his peace when he saw the murderer of Laius enthroned and married to Jocasta; but if he has already shown cowardice, is not fear a more natural explanation?

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VII.—*Tiberius' Refusals of Divine Honors*

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A new expression of Tiberius' reluctance to receive divine honors has lately come to light in a letter of the emperor preserved on a stone from the Peloponnesian city Gythium. The inscription is one of two that were discovered during work of construction to the east of the theatre; they probably come from the Caesareum of the ancient city.[1] Both documents date from the beginning of the reign of Tiberius. The longer inscription, though it is of less importance in our discussion, probably has some connection with the communication of the Gytheates to which Tiberius' letter is a reply. It therefore requires brief comment. It contains a considerable portion of a law regulating games and contests in honor of the imperial house. It provides for the erection in the theatre of statues of Augustus, Tiberius, and Livia. Before the contestants entered the theatre, the magistrates and senators were to offer sacrifices in front of these statues on behalf of the safety of the princes. The contests were to be of six days' duration, one day each for Augustus, Tiberius, Livia, Germanicus, Drusus, and Titus Quinctius Flamininus. Two additional days of contests were to be added in the name of the great Spartan prince, C. Iulius Eurycles, who had lately died, and his son Laco, then the foremost citizen of Greece.

The inscription dates between the death of Augustus in 14 A.D. and the death of Germanicus in 19; it probably belongs to a period very shortly after the earlier date. It speaks of

[1] First published by S. K. Kougeas, Ἑλληνικά, I (1928), 7–44; 152–157. The text of the inscription has been reprinted and discussed by: H. Seyrig, *Rev. Arch.* XXIX (1929), 84–106; Kornemann, *Abh. der schles. Gesellschaft für vaterländ. Kultur*, I (1929), 1 ff.; L. Wenger, *Zeit. d. Sav. Stift. f. Rechtsgesch.* XLIV (1929), *Roman. Abt.* 308 ff. On Tiberius' refusals of honors see especially, Wenger, p. 318.

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all the princes collectively as θεοί καὶ ἡγεμόνες but it does not give any individual except Augustus the title θεός. It calls Tiberius σεβαστός, a name whose equivalent Augustus the emperor refrained from using in Rome, and father of his country, a title which he refused to accept. It calls Livia Tyche of the people and city of Gythium [2] and gives her a place in prominence almost equal to that of Tiberius, a distinction that accords well with her position in the early years of her son's reign. Of special interest is the fact that the days for Germanicus and Drusus are assigned not to the princes themselves but to the Nike of the former and the Aphrodite of the latter. The association of a deified abstraction like Nike with a member of the imperial house is too familiar to require comment, but the Aphrodite of Drusus is, as far as I know, unparalleled. Like Sulla's Venus Felix and Julius Caesar's Venus Genetrix, Aphrodite here probably corresponds to some deified abstraction like Felicitas or Victoria.[3] Finally it is worth noting that with the distinctions of the imperial house the honors of Flamininus, "liberator," of Greece,[4] still persisted two centuries after his death, and that the house of Eurycles received homage as benefactors of the city.[5]

But it is in the other document that we have an expression of Tiberius' deprecation of honors for himself. It is a letter of the emperor in reply to the people of Gythium who had communicated to him a list of honorary decrees for his house. The decree of the Gytheates and their provisions for its observance were evidently inscribed on the same stone before

[2] With the other inscriptions was found a fragmentary dedication of a statue (ἄγαλμα, the word used for an image of a god) to τῇ ἐπιφανεστάτῃ Τύχῃ τῆς πόλεως, obviously a title of Livia.

[3] See Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*², pp. 291 f. Cf. Kornemann, *op. cit.* 23 f. I do not however agree with Kornemann that there is any evidence that Germanicus and Drusus were σύνναοι of Nike and Aphrodite.

[4] A base of a statue of Flamininus has been discovered at Gythium, cf. *I.G.* v, 1, 1165. For his special connection with the city see Livy, XXXIV, 29. For the persistence of Flamininus' honors in Chalcis see Plutarch, *Flam.* 16.

[5] For recently discovered records of the Euryclids from Corinth see Taylor and West, *A.J.A.* XXX (1926), 389–400. The record from Gythium proves that the death of Eurycles occurred before the accession of Tiberius.

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the letter, but only fragments of the last part are preserved. It is not clear whether there were in the decree provisions for divine honors of Tiberius. The letter reads as follows:[6] "Tiberius Caesar, Augustus, son of Augustus, pontifex maximus, in the ? year[7] of his tribunitial power sends greetings to the ephors and the city of Gythium. Decimus Turranius Nicanor, the messenger sent by you to me, and to my mother, has given me your letter to which were attached the measures voted by you to express your piety toward my father and your honor toward me. For these I commend you and I think it fitting that all men in general and your city in particular should reserve honors that befit the gods for the greatness of my father's benefits toward the whole world; for myself I am satisfied with more moderate honors such as belong to men. My mother will make reply to you when she learns what decision you have made about honors for her."

The letter will immediately call to mind another expression of Tiberius about divine honors for himself, the memorable speech which Tacitus (*Ann.* IV, 37–38) put into the emperor's mouth when he refused the temple offered to him by the people of Further Spain. It reads in part: Vanescet Augusti honor si promiscis adulationibus vulgatur. Ego me, patres conscripti, mortalem esse et hominum officia fungi satisque

[6] [Τιβέριος Καῖσαρ Σεβ]αστοῦ υἱὸ[ς Σε]βαστός, ἀρχιερεὺς δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας . . (*ca.* 13 letters) Γυθεατῶν ἐφόροις καὶ τῇ πόλει Χαίρειν. ὁ πεμφθεὶς ὑφ' ὑμῶν [πρὸς] ἐμὲ καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν μητέρα πρεσβευτὴς Δέκμος Τυρράνιος Νεικάνωρ [ἀνέδ]ωκέν μοι τὴν ὑμετέραν ἐπιστολὴν ᾗ προσεγέγραπτο τὰ νομοθετηθέν[τα ὑφ' ὑ]μῶν εἰς εὐσεβείαν μὲν τοῦ ἐμοῦ πατρός, τιμὴν δὲ τὴν ἡμετέραν [ἐ]φ' οἷς ὑμᾶς ἐπαινῶν προσήκειν ὑπολαμβάνω<ι> καὶ κοινῇ πάντας ἀνθρώπους καὶ ἰδίᾳ τὴν ὑμετέραν πόλιν ἐξαιρέτους φυλάσσειν τῶι μεγέθει τῶν τοῦ ἐμοῦ πατρὸς εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν κόσμον εὐεργεσιῶν τὰς θεοῖς πρεπούσας τιμάς, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀρκοῦμαι ταῖς μετριωτέραις τε καὶ ἀνθρωπείοις· ἡ μέντοι ἐμὴ μήτηρ τόθ' ὑμῖν ἀποκρινεῖται ὅταν αἴσθηται παρ' ὑμῶν ἣν ἔχετε περὶ τῶν εἰς αὐτὴν τιμῶν κρίσιν.

[7] The inscription dates after March 10th of the year 15 when Tiberius was elected *pontifex maximus*. Kougeas has indicated that the most probable reconstruction of the tribunitial power is τὸ ἑκκαιδέκατον. If his restoration is correct, the letter dates before June 27 of the same year when the sixteenth year of Tiberius' tribunitial power ends. Kornemann would date the decree discussed above later than this letter, but I agree with Seyrig in thinking that the decree may concern some of the honors communicated to Tiberius.

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habere si locum principem impleam et vos testor et meminisse posteros volo; qui satis superque memoriae tribuent, ut maioribus meis dignum, rerum vestrarum providum, constantem in periculis, offensionum pro utilitate publica non pavidum credant. Haec mihi in animis vestris templa, hae pulcherrimae effigies et mansurae. Here we have not, as in the letter found at Gythium, the emperor's own words, but Tacitus had access to the speeches of Tiberius,[8] and we know enough about his method of reporting speeches to justify us in assuming that in substance, though not in form, he said very much what Tacitus makes him say.

The letter and the speech are in line with Tiberius' reported refusals of the titles and festivals and honors that were constantly offered to him,[9] and the discovery will tend to strengthen the prevailing impression that Tiberius effectively opposed divine honors for himself. But is the impression really correct? Did Tiberius refuse to accept the divine position of Augustus? It is the purpose of this paper to attempt to see the significance of his refusals.

The divinity of Augustus in Italy and probably in the west was defined by the position that the emperor took after Actium, and was further developed by the provisions made after he acquired the office of *pontifex maximus*. On earth he was a man sprung from divine ancestors and destined after his death to attain a place in heaven with his ancestors. In the meantime he had in the cult of his Genius some measure of the homage that was to be his after death. The emperor himself had struggled in his early years to effect his father's deification and had used it as a basis for the legalization of his power. The words *divi filius* in the official form of his name suggested that he himself would after death attain a similar

[8] Tac. *Ann.* I, 81. For his use of the letters of Tiberius see VI, 6. For Tacitus' method of reworking speeches compare Claudius' speech preserved on the bronze tablet of Lyons, Dessau, 212, with the original of the same speech, Tac. *Ann.* XI, 23–25.

[9] For Tiberius' refusals see Suet. *Tib.* 26 and 67; Dio, LVII, 8–9; Tac. *Ann.* I, 14 and 72; II, 87.

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divinity and the poets of the Augustan Age constantly kept the idea of Augustus' future apotheosis before the minds of men. The emperor also as *pontifex maximus* furthered the worship of his Genius and by having it placed beside Jupiter and the Di Penates in the official oath made it in a sense a symbol of loyalty to the state. He had sacrifices made to his Genius before his statues, and the distinction of circus games on the great festival of his Genius, his birthday.[10] Over a long period of years he was offered many festivals and titles and honors. Some of them he refused; others he accepted but sometimes only after repeated refusals. He deprecated divine distinctions that placed him above mortals. Even in the east, where the emperor had after Actium been honored as an incarnate god on earth with all the worship of the Hellenistic kings, there was a tendency after Augustus' reforms as *pontifex maximus* to have the word θεός omitted in the ordinary decrees and inscriptions that honored him.[11]

Let us turn now to Tiberius' attitude toward Augustus' divinity and his own. In deifying Augustus Tiberius was as assiduous as Augustus had been in honoring Julius. He had of course nothing of the struggle that Augustus had had in securing Julius' apotheosis, for he could count on a tradition of deification that Augustus had had to establish. But he seems to have accepted all the honors offered for the new god and to have encouraged new forms of homage. In Rome he secured from the senate the decree providing the god not only with the temples and festivals that belonged to every state cult but also with the priest that had distinguished Divus Iulius from most of the gods in the Roman pantheon who were served by the college of *pontifices*. He also accepted for him new distinctions not possessed by Divus Iulius, a priestess which no Roman god except Jupiter had, and a priestly college, the *sodales Au-*

[10] The development of Augustus' divine honors will be considered in detail in my forthcoming book, "The Divinity of the Roman Emperor."

[11] On this point see for instance Wilcken's comments, Mitteis-Wilcken, *Papyruskunde*, I, 1, 120.

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gustales, modelled on the *sodales Titii* that Romulus was said to have established for Titus Tatius.[12]

Tiberius' encouragement of homage for Augustus in cities of the empire is clearly indicated by the letter to the people of Gythium with its expression of the desire that all men should revere Augustus as a god. Such an expression from the emperor must have had its effect in inducing laggard communities to take measures for the distinctions due to the new god. Many of them—probably all in the east [13]—already had shrines of Augustus, but new buildings or new statues and festivals, such as the Gytheates provided, were obviously expected. Dio is doubtless correct in his assertion that, though some cities made their provisions willingly, others acted with reluctance.[14] A few years later it was charged that the people of Cyzicus had never completed the shrine that they had begun for Augustus, and the charge was one of the reasons why they were deprived of the liberty which they had won in the war with Mithradates.[15]

In the provinces Tiberius gave support to the divinity of Augustus by granting the people of Hither Spain permission to build a temple to him, and Tacitus (*Ann.* I, 78) tells us that the permission served as a precedent to other provinces for similar action. There were already temples of Augustus set up by sacred leagues in at least two provinces of the east and very likely in others. In the west, though there were provincial altars at a centre in the three Gauls and another in the two Germanies and probably in other places—for instance the

[12] Eventually, yielding to the insistence of the *delatores*, Tiberius carried reverence for the divinity of Augustus to such a point that he interpreted offence against it as treason. Abandoning the more honorable attitude of the beginning of his reign when he had declared that the gods themselves could avenge the wrongs done to them (Tac. *Ann.* I, 73), he punished by death men who swore falsely by Augustus or in trivial ways violated the majesty of the god.

[13] There were temples of Augustus in every city of Paphlagonia in 3 B.C. See Dittenberger, *O.G.I.S.* 532.

[14] Dio, LVI, 46. Dio is speaking here of ἡρῶα but the unwillingness of which he speaks doubtless concerned the other provisions for the cult of Augustus.

[15] Dio, LVII, 24, 6; Tac. *Ann.* IV, 36. Cf. Suet. *Tib.* 37.

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altar that existed at Tarraco in Spain may have been a provincial monument [16]—there seem to have been no temples of Augustus built during the lifetime of the emperor. It is likely that most of the provinces now followed the lead of the Spaniards and erected temples and, with the permission of the emperor, made adequate provision for priests and festivals in the cult.[17]

By encouraging divine honors for Augustus Tiberius was preparing his own way to heaven. He showed the value he placed on his position as son of a god when, though rejecting many honorary titles offered him, he from the first wrote in his name the words *divi Augusti filius*. He had most of Augustus' distinctions offered him and he began by refusing them. Without stopping to consider his refusal of titles and insignia, we shall take up what we may term the divine honors. He declined special distinctions for his birthday and at first did not have it recorded in the calendar. Accordingly it does not appear in the *Fasti* of Amiternum inscribed soon after 20 A.D. He refused to have oaths taken by his Genius. Statues of him—before which sacrifices to his genius would naturally have been made—he refused to have erected unless he gave definite permission, and he added that he would not give it. He declined to have a month called Tiberius, asking what the Romans would do when they had thirteen Caesars. But eventually he accepted every one of these distinctions except the name of the month, an honor, by the way, which Augustus seems not to have acknowledged until nearly twenty years

[16] See Quint. VI, 3, 77. It is usually assumed that this was a municipal monument and that the erection of the temple in Hither Spain inaugurated the imperial cult in the province, but there is no proof that such was the case. See Hirschfeld, *Kleine Schriften*, p. 480. His view of the imperial cult in the provinces is much more probable than that of Kornemann (*Klio*, I, 108 ff.) which is now generally accepted.

[17] I would suggest that the Narbo bronze tablet (*C.I.L.* XII, 6038) with its mention of a temple and its provision for priests and priestesses and ex-priests dates from the beginning of the reign of Tiberius. At that time the mention of imperatoris Caes[aris Augusti], which I agree with Hirschfeld in thinking is the first emperor, is explicable, for the title *divus Augustus* was not yet familiar.

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after it was first voted by the people and the senate.[18] Tiberius' refusals have been chronicled by the historians with more detail than his acceptances; if we had not the account of the honors bestowed on Sejanus in union with him, we should have little idea of how much he finally took.

Let us see what is known of Tiberius' acceptance of honors. He later had his birthday inscribed in the state calendar (Suet. *Tib.* 5) and it appears in the *Fasti Antiates* which date from the reign of Claudius. It chanced to fall on a day of the *ludi plebeii* which was already signalized by *ludi circenses*, and therefore it could not acquire as a fresh distinction the circus games which after long years of slowly increasing honors were finally in 8 B.C. entered in the calendar as a regular feature of Augustus' birthday. But Tiberius had the distinction of having a *biga* added in his name to the races of the plebeian games.[19] His prohibition of the oath by his Genius must have been withdrawn very speedily, for Dio, the only authority who reports it, adds a statement which shows that it was not effective.[20] He says that if anyone, after swearing by it, incurred the charge of perjury, Tiberius did not prosecute him. Tiberius was practical enough to see the advantages of the Genius in securing loyalty, and though he doubtless charged treason in the name of Augustus,[21] who as *divus* continued to be named in the official oath, his own Genius seems regularly to

[18] Augustus acknowledged the honor in 8 B.C. Cf. Censorinus, *de die nat.* 22, 16, Dio, LV, 6, 6–7; Suet. *Aug.* 22, 6. But the epitomist of Livy (CXXXIV) mentions it under the year 27 and the decree passed by the senate (Macrob. *Sat.* I, 12, 35) apparently belongs to that year. On the evidence cf. Otto Seeck, *s.v.* Iulius (Augustus), *P.-W.* X, 1, 361–362. On this subject I am indebted to Professor Kenneth Scott for information about an article of his that is to appear in the second volume of the *Yale Classical Studies*.

[19] Suetonius' statement (*Tib.* 26) of this acceptance reads like a refusal: Natalem suum plebeiis incurrentem circensibus vix unius bigae adiectione honorari passus est. On the honors for Tiberius' birthday see Mommsen's comment, *C.I.L.* I, 1², comm. diurn. for Nov. 16.

[20] Dio, LVII, 8, 3: *οὔτ' ὀμνύναι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τύχην συνεχώρει εἴ τε καὶ ὀμόσας τις αὐτὴν αἰτίαν ὡς καὶ ἐπιωρκηκὼς ἔλαβεν οὐκ ἐπεξῄει.*

[21] For an instance of Tiberius' refusal to prosecute for treason a man accused of melting down his image see Tac. *Ann.* III, 70, 2. See however IV, 35, 3.

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have appeared with his deified father. This we know from the fact that Sejanus' Genius in the days of his ascendancy was associated with Tiberius'.[22] The association is described as one of the indications of Sejanus' position as Tiberius' virtual colleague, and it is evident that the honor to the Genius of Tiberius is not anything new.[23] With the oath by Tiberius' Genius naturally went the sacrifice before his statues that his prohibitions had not prevented men from erecting; he himself had qualified his objection to them by declaring that he would permit them not among the images of the gods but simply as a part of the decoration of the temples.[24] But whatever the character of the statues, sacrifices were offered to them, and for a time Sejanus shared in the offerings.[25] Just before the letter of Tiberius that led to the fall of Sejanus the emperor sent the command that no sacrifices were to be made to any individual, himself included[26]—a renewal of his former prohibition and doubtless no more effective. Certainly the oath by the Genius of the emperor was recognized when, after Sejanus' disgrace, the senate passed a decree forbidding oaths by the Genius of any man except the emperor.[27]

In the municipalities Tiberius speedily secured the position

[22] Provision for regular sacrifices to the Genius of Tiberius at the altar of the *Numen Augustum* in Forum Clodi is found in an inscription of the year 18 A.D. (*C.I.L.* XI, 3303 = Dessau, 154). The document is confusing because Augustus' Genius, which is nowhere else mentioned after the death of the emperor, shares in the offerings. I would suggest that the provisions are based on urban models probably those in force at the altar of the *Numen Augusti* which Tiberius seems to have dedicated in Rome in the year 13. See the entry in the *Fasti Praenestini* under Jan. 17, with Mommsen's very probable restoration, *C.I.L.* I, 1², p. 308.

[23] On the honors of Sejanus see Dio, LVIII, 3–8 *passim;* cf. 12, 6. See also Juvenal, 10, 56–57.

[24] Cf. Suet. *Tib.* 26: ea sola condicione ne inter simulacra deorum sed inter ornamenta aedium ponerentur.

[25] Dio, LVIII, 4, 4: *καὶ τέλος καὶ ταῖς εἰκόσιν αὐτοῦ ὥσπερ καὶ ταῖς τοῦ Τιβερίου ἔθυον.*

[26] Dio, LVIII, 8, 4: *καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἀπεῖπε μήτ' ἀνθρώπων τινὶ θύεσθαι, διότι καὶ ἐκείνῳ τοῦτ' ἐγίγνετο, μήτε ἐπὶ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ τιμῇ τι χρηματίζεσθαι, διότι πολλὰ ἐκείνῳ ἐψηφίζετο.*

[27] Dio, LVIII, 12, 6: *μήτε τοὺς ὅρκους ἐπ' ἄλλου τινὸς πλὴν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ποιεῖσθαι.*

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of Augustus both in the east and in the west. In Italy the Genius of Augustus had its temples and priests in many cities,[28] possibly in all. The Genius of Tiberius took its place beside his father who was now *divus* and was in the care of the *flamines* or *sacerdotes Augusti*.[29] In two Italian towns there are records of priests with the name of Tiberius in their titles.[30] In Forum Clodi the Genius of Augustus, which seems elsewhere to have disappeared after the death of the emperor, continued to have a cult, and with it was associated the Genius of Tiberius, each emperor being honored on his birthday. In the cities of the east Tiberius from the beginning of his reign received the regular forms of cult that we find for Augustus. In spite of the fact that θεός was not approved for the living emperor, it occurs from time to time in dedications to Tiberius[31] as it does for Augustus in his lifetime. Tiberius had his temples[32] and priests[33] and festivals (of which the decree from Gythium provides an instance) according to the established traditions of the east. Such expressions of his desires as we find in the letter to the Gytheates can have been of slight avail. In the edict which he issued on his visit to Egypt in 18, Germanicus,[34] while deprecating divine titles for himself, speaks of them as Tiberius' regular prerogatives. "They are," he said, "fitting only for the saviour and bene-

[28] See *T.A.P.A.* LI (1920), 116–133.

[29] On the meaning of these titles see Geiger, *De sacerdotibus Augustorum municipalibus* (Diss. Halle, 1913), pp. 9 ff.

[30] *C.I.L.* IX, 652; X, 688. The latter is a priest of Roma and Tiberius. Compare the African dedication, *C.I.L.* VIII, 685. For a priest of Tiberius in Spain see II, 49.

[31] *I.G.* XII, 3, 1058; VII, 195. Cf. XII, 1, 772a.

[32] Dittenberger, *O.G.I.S.* 583 (from Cyprus). It provides for a temple and an image (here significantly called ἄγαλμα, the word for an image of a god) of Tiberius to be set up by the priest of Tiberius at his own expense.

[33] See the list of inscriptions (twelve, a larger number than is recorded for any other emperor) cited by Geiger, *op. cit.*, pp. 10–11. One of them (from Thera, *I.G.* XII, 3, 339) probably dates from the year 15, and another (from Gerasa, *I.G.R.* III, 1344) from 22.

[34] Wilamowitz and Zucker, *Sitzb. d. berl. Akad.* 1911, 794 ff. See Cichorius *Röm. St.*, pp. 375 ff.; Wilcken, *Hermes*, LXIII (1928), 48 ff.; Seyrig, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

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factor of the whole human race, my father and his mother." The decree of Gythium shows that in the cities Tiberius did not hold to his refusal of statues, and the many statue bases that have been found both in the east and in the west provide further proof.

In the provinces also Tiberius followed the traditions of Augustus. When the people of Asia requested permission to build a temple to Tiberius, Livia, and the senate, Tiberius could point to the temple of Roma and Augustus which Asia had erected in honor of his father, and in granting the request could make it clear that he, like his father, had not accepted worship of himself alone. When further Spain applied for a similar permission he refused; he had no precedent of Augustus here.[35]

Tiberius' policy toward divine honors was then determined by the precedents of Augustus. Here, as in more significant matters, he observed all Augustus' words and deeds as law.[36] He accepted the interpretation of the emperor's divine position which had been established by Augustus and in Rome he had probably from the early part of his reign the two most essential features of Augustus' divinity—the worship of his divine ancestors and especially his father, and of his own Genius as a symbol of loyalty to the state. In the east he had the same cult as an incarnate god that Augustus had enjoyed. No one would of course pretend that the cult meant what it had meant under Augustus. It had become stereotyped and formalized and the honors offered to Tiberius had nothing fresh or

[35] There is very little evidence for the view of Kornemann that the refusal of the temple in Spain made it impossible for the living emperor to be worshipped at an altar.

[36] Tac. *Ann.* IV, 37 (again from the speech refusing the temple in Spain): Cum divus Augustus sibi atque urbi Romae templum apud Pergamum sisti non prohibuisset, qui omnia facta dictaque eius vice legis observem, placitum iam exemplum promptius secutus sum, quia cultui meo veneratio senatus adiungebatur. Cf. I, 77: Neque fas Tiberio infringere dicta eius (*i.e.* Augusti). The precedents of Augustus are emphasized as guiding principles for Tiberius throughout the account of Tacitus. See the discussion of Gelzer, *P.-W.*, X, 1, 525–527.

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individual about them.[37] It is small wonder if seeing in them nothing but adulation he gave them the contempt that they deserved.[38]

However little he may have cared for worship, Tiberius, by reason of his faithful adherence to the traditions of Augustus, probably expected after his death the apotheosis that had come to Augustus. With a different successor he would very likely have secured it, but Caligula, after suggesting it, failed to press it before a senate with which Tiberius had not left the *prospera memoria* that would have been the real basis for enduring cult.[39] Tiberius' failure to achieve apotheosis after his death is probably responsible at least in part for the fact that his refusals—of which we have a new example in the letter to the Gytheates—loom so large in the accounts of his divine honors. Even though they may have represented his sentiments, they should be considered with reference to the fact that Tiberius actually assumed the divine position of Augustus and furthermore that refusal of honors was part of the tradition of Augustus which he was faithfully following. Tiberius' letters and speeches deprecating such distinctions probably had their Augustan models. If we had Augustus' words when he declined to accept a temple in Asia unless Roma were included in the cult,[40] we should have the parallel which Tiberius cites for his association of the senate with himself.

[37] It is noteworthy that only four days were added to the calendar of festivals in the name of Tiberius.

[38] Tac. *Ann.* II, 87: sub principe qui libertatem metuebat, adulationem oderat.

[39] Tacitus, however unfair he is in picturing Tiberius, probably gives us a good idea of the impression the emperor made on his contemporaries. His "suspensa et obscura verba" (I, 11) left men in doubt as to what he really wanted and all his words and deeds were subjected to unfavorable explanations. Before the speech about the temple in Spain Tacitus says there was a rumor that Tiberius had become desirous of honors (rumore arguebatur in ambitionem flexisse). The refusal in itself was however not well received; cf. IV, 38: Quod alii modestiam, multi quia diffideret, quidam ut degeneris animi interpretabantur. . . . Cetera principibus statim adesse: unum insatiabiliter parandum, prosperam sui memoriam; nam contemptu famae contemni virtutes.

[40] Suet. *Aug.* 52; Dio, LI, 20.

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If we had the text of Augustus' permission to the Romans of Asia to worship Roma and Divus Iulius,[41] we should probably find in it the assertion that his father was worthy of honors such as befitted the gods. If Augustus' refusal to have Agrippa dedicate the Pantheon to him were on record,[42] very likely it would contain the statement that he was a mortal for whom only honors that became a man were suitable.

The tradition of Augustus also explains why Tiberius actually received distinctions which he had apparently refused. Under Augustus Roman citizens in the east were not in fact forced to confine themselves to the worship of Divus Iulius; they have left practically no record of that cult, but they have left traces of their worship of Augustus himself. Among the Romans the month Sextilis seems to have been called Augustus long before the emperor himself recognized the change. The refusals were not final and perhaps were not always expected to be obeyed.[43] Sometimes they were little more than polite demurrers.

It is not only in the refusals of Tiberius that the tradition of declining honors established by Augustus appears. We see it in Germanicus' edict to the Alexandrians in which he objects to their salutation of him:[44] *τὴν μὲν εὔνοιαν ὑμῶν ἣν αἰεὶ ἐπιδείκνυσθε, ὅταν με <ε> ἴδητε ἀποδέχομαι· τὰς δὲ ἐπιφθόνου[ς] ἐμοὶ καὶ ἰσοθέους ἐκφωνήσεις ὑμῶν ἐξ [ἅ]παντος παραιτοῦμαι.* We see indications of it even in Caligula, who at the beginning of his reign ordered the annulment of a decree providing for sacrifices to his Genius and directed that his action should be in-

[41] Dio, LI, 20.

[42] Dio, LIII, 27, 3.

[43] For instance the title *pater patriae* which Tiberius had refused is used by the Gytheates as a distinction for him. The history of the title is instructive. Tiberius never did accept it, though it was offered to him repeatedly. Augustus though he was frequently called *pater* or *parens patriae* (see Dio, LV, 10, and the numerous inscriptions cited by Gardthausen, *Augustus und seine Zeit*, II, p. 735) refused the offer of the title but was pressed into accepting it by the insistence of senate and people in 2 B.C.

[44] Wilamowitz and Zucker, *op. cit.* There follows immediately the statement quoted above in which divine honors are said to be the special right of Tiberius and Livia.

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scribed on a tablet.[45] In his case the action meant nothing,[46] for he was soon violating all the traditions of Augustus by demanding sacrifices to himself as an incarnate god. Claudius returned to the precedents of Augustus, and we now have from the beginning of his reign a document which in its deprecation of honors for the living ruler we may place beside the letter of Tiberius to the Gytheates. In a letter to the Alexandrians preserved on a papyrus the emperor at his accession replies to a long series of honors offered by the city to him.[47] Some of them he accepted and others he refused with the statement: *ἀρχ[ι]ερέα δ'ἐμὸν καὶ ναῶν κατασευὰς παρετοῦμε, οὔτε φορτικὸς τοῖς κατ'ἐμαυτὸν ἀνθρόποις* (*sic*) *βουλόμενος εἶναι, τὰ ἱερὰ δὲ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα μόνοις τοῖς θεοῖς ἐξέρετα ὑπὸ τοῦ παντὸς αἰῶνος ἀποδεδόσθαι κρίν[ω]ν.* The word *παραιτοῦμαι* used by both Claudius and Germanicus is certainly not a final prohibition, and it is significant that the prefect of Egypt in making the letter of Claudius public calls the emperor a god. The influence of such Roman documents deprecating honors is probably to be seen in a letter of Alexander given in the Alexander Romance,[48] which is generally believed to have been put together at Alexandria in the second century after Christ: *παραιτοῦμαι τὰς ἰσοθέους τιμάς· ἐγὼ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος φθαρτὸς γεγένημαι καὶ εὐλαβοῦμαι τὸ τοιοῦτον· κίνδυνον γὰρ φέρει τὸν περὶ ψυχῆς. Ἐπαινῶ δὲ καὶ δέχομαι ὑμῶν τὸ φρόνημα.* It is not likely that Alexander himself ever said anything of the sort.

We cannot follow the refusal of honors beyond Claudius in

[45] Dio, LIX, 4, 4. Similarly Antony caused Caesar's refusal of a crown to be inscribed in the Fasti. See Cic. *Phil.* II, 87.

[46] Caligula was criticized for his undue haste in accepting all the honors of Augustus except the title *pater patriae* on a single day. See Dio, LIX, 3. He should have accepted them gradually with many refusals over a long period of time.

[47] H. I. Bell, *Jews and Christians in Egypt*, London, 1924. The papyrus has been widely discussed.

[48] *Hist. Alex. Magni*, ed. Kroll (1926), II, 22, 12. The interesting parallel was cited by Wilcken, *Hermes*, LXIII (1928), 50. For its association with the inscription from Gythium see Kougeas, pp. 152 ff.

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any form that seems to maintain the tradition of Augustus.[49] But it is clear that Tiberius,[50] though he may have objected oftener and with more effect than other emperors, was not alone in his deprecation of divine honors and was not effective in his opposition. Even his language as we now have it in the letter to the Gytheates does not express absolute prohibition. When he wrote, *αὐτὸς δὲ ἀρκοῦμαι ταῖς μετριωτέραις τε καὶ ἀνθρωπείοις*, he did not close the door against divine honors from the Gytheates.

Professor Rostovtzeff's important article, "L'Empereur Tibère et le Culte impérial," *Revue Historique*, CLXIII (1930), 1–26, did not appear until this paper was in page proof. He seems to me to have supplied the best explanation of the relation of the two longer inscriptions of Gythium. He believes that they belong together; that indeed the fragmentary words which precede the letter of Tiberius form the end of the sacred law on the other stone. He cites the language of Tiberius in his letter *τὰ νομοθετηθέντα ὑφ' ὑμῶν* in proof of the fact that the document sent to Tiberius was a *νόμος*. His view of Tiberius' refusals of honors is not unlike the one presented in this article, but he sees more finality in Claudius' words in the British Museum Papyrus than I am disposed to attribute to them.

[49] The restriction on numbers of statues to be erected which we find in Caligula's and Hadrian's letters to the Achaean league (*I.G.* VII, 2711, and *Inschr. von Olympia*, 57) is rather different.

[50] I have made no attempt to discuss in this paper Tiberius' attitude toward honors for Livia. His opposition to distinctions for her and his unwillingness to deify her after her death were due rather to his personal relations with her than to any opposition to divinity.

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VIII.—*The Sociative Ablatives*

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Any adequate discussion of the ablative case must inevitably make some attempt to divide its various uses according to the three originally independent cases from which it came. Such a division is almost as necessary for a clear understanding of this composite case as the division between ablative and dative plurals or between the genitive and locative uses. As late as 1857 the Latin Grammar of Andrews and Stoddard called the locative cases genitives of place where, and there is no more difference between the meaning of the genitive and of the locative than there is between the meanings of *with* and *from*. Such a division in the ablative uses is made in nearly all the grammars, with a reservation in most of them that certain uses are of doubtful or composite origin. When it is considered that before the fusion of these cases in form there must have been, in meaning also, considerable trenching upon each other's territory, the difficulty of assigning some of the ablative uses to any one of the original cases exclusively will be evident. What can be done—and this is the usual procedure—is to group each use of the case, as we find it, with that one of the three original cases to which it most logically belongs, adding the proper cautions as to the degree of conjecture in doubtful cases. In this paper I shall discuss a few assignments on which authorities disagree, question some accepted assignments, and attempt as accurate a distinction as possible between the different sociative uses of the ablative, basing conclusions not so much upon origins, which, in the nature of the case, must often be highly theoretical, as upon the developed language as we find it in the classical period, particularly in Caesar and Cicero. A secondary, but nevertheless very important object is to secure categories more intelligible and less

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confusing than some of those generally used, and so help the student to think more clearly.

The use of the word "sociative" instead of "instrumental" for one of the three original cases is the one adopted by Hale, and, I think, originated by him. The word clearly indicates the meaning common to all the uses of the group, while the name "instrumental" fits only one, and involves no little confusion between its wider meaning and its more limited notion of *means*.

Two assumptions will be made in this paper. One is that when a word or a group of related words is used in the ablative, sometimes with a preposition and sometimes not, but with identical meanings, the preposition gives a clear indication of the derivation and the proper classification of the simple ablative. To say, as does Harkness, that *suo more* is an ablative of cause, and that *de suo more*, with identical meaning, is one of source; or to say, as do Allen and Greenough, that *ex mea sententia* is an ablative of source, but that without the *ex*, in the same sense, it is one of specification seems to me to violate common sense and to disregard analogy. Hale and others, rightly I think, put all four under accordance.

The second assumption is that in such cases the two uses, with and without a preposition, should be called by the same name. Most grammars, including those of Allen and Greenough, Gildersleeve and Lodge, Hale and Buck, Harkness, Bennett, and Burton, do not hesitate to speak of ablatives of manner, or separation, or accompaniment, either with or without a preposition. The ablative of personal agent is on a somewhat different basis, since the preposition is always used, and Hale does not give the construction this name but mentions the usage under separative ablatives with prepositions. It has remained for Elmer, in his recently published grammar, and in a widely distributed pamphlet which accompanied it, to make a vigorous protest against giving any name to an ablative used with a preposition, and his position is supported by other scholars of high standing. The only ablatives of

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accompaniment that he recognizes, therefore, are those rare ablatives sometimes used without *cum* to denote the forces with which a military movement is accompanied, which Gildersleeve and Lodge call ablatives of manner; and the only ablatives of place in or on which, according to Elmer, are those without *in*. He states, under the proper caption, of course, that these two notions are regularly expressed with a preposition, but he is not quite consistent in this respect, for he makes no mention of the fact that cause and accordance are often expressed with *ex* or *de*, or that attendant circumstance often has *cum*. From the point of view of a scientific description of the language, based on differences of form, Elmer's position is essentially sound. From the point of view of common sense and convenience in teaching, it seems rather foolish not to call *summa virtute* and *summa cum virtute* by the same name when they mean the same thing; and there is another argument of greater force. Prepositions originated as adverbs attached to a significant case form to make the meaning more specific or emphatic, and finally came to be felt as words which governed the case. Some usages never took on such an adverb, others sometimes, others always. The ablative was used in the phrase *summa cum virtute* for just the same reason as in *summa virtute*, because the sense required it, and not because *cum* takes that case.

One of Elmer's main arguments is that if names are to be given to cases governed by prepositions there must be about as many names for the accusative as there are prepositions that take that case. In another paper, read before this Association in 1926, I attempted to show that most prepositions could be divided into two essentially different groups. The first consists of those with which the case still keeps its original force, and includes most prepositions which take the ablative, and, among those which take the accusative, the ones with which the notion of limit of motion or that of extent is still clear, as often with *ad*, *in*, *sub*, and *per*. The second group consists of prepositions which developed by analogy with the first, and most

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of them, like *prope*, *extra*, and the others ending in *ā*, take the accusative as a mere grammatical object, with no other case meaning. These prepositional phrases are like similar phrases in English, in which the logical relationship with the verb or its equivalent is shown wholly by the preposition. Arguments drawn from them cannot be used to apply to the other group, where the case meaning has never been lost.

Those usages in which the prepositional phrases develop special meanings, as with *de*, "concerning," and *pro*, "for," which seem to have lost most if not all of their separative meaning, are more like the second group than the first. Here also belongs *coram*, "in the face of," apparently taking the ablative through analogy with *pro*, "in front of."

The name "ablative of personal agent," against which Elmer makes his sharpest attack, may also seem to belong here, but the notion of source in this construction was probably never lost, and such an important construction might seem, for convenience, at least, to need a name of its own. A name does not have to tell the whole story, and "ablative of personal agent" seems a reasonably shortened form for "ablative used with *ab* to express personal agency with passive verbs." This paper then will follow the usual method, reasonable, even if not scientifically accurate or consistent, which gives names to the ablatives with *ab* and *ex* and *cum*, but not to that with *pro*.

In considering the sociative ablatives as a whole, the first step is to eliminate certain constructions, usually, though I believe wrongly, assigned to this group. Chief among these is the ablative of respect, classed as sociative by all grammars except that of Hale and Buck, which calls it of composite origin, and that of Gildersleeve and Lodge, which counts it as separative, but says its origin is uncertain and may be partly instrumental or locative. This grammar goes on to say that the ablative of respect gives the point from which a thing is measured or treated, and includes under it not only the ablatives usually so classed but also all ablatives of comparison, several of accordance, at least two of source, which run as

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follows: "adventu Caesaris ex colore vestitus cognito," and "de gestu intellego quid respondeas"; and besides these a few nondescripts like *ex usu*, 'useful,' *iure*, 'justly,' and the ablative with *dignus*. How illuminating such a presentation is likely to prove to a student may be indicated by the following English sentence, the translation of which would include all these various ablatives of respect: "In my opinion (*mea sententia*), a book is useful (*ex usu*) and worthy of praise (*dignus laude*) which, from the impression (source) it gives, is justly (*iure*) considered better than most others (*ceteris*) in its moral influence(respect)." Seven ablatives of respect, and no two alike! True it is that five of them, omitting the ordinary ablative of respect and the ablative with *dignus*, rather surely go back (some of them a long way back) to a separative origin, and even for the other two, in view of the tendency in Latin to think of the place whence, where we think of the place where, a separative origin is not impossible, but if this distant relationship justified their being put under one name, with no further division, we should have three ablative categories instead of about twenty, and such a conglomeration of diverse uses as described above would make it very difficult to convince our younger students, at least, that Latin grammar and logical analysis had any special connection with each other.

As indicated above, to say that one tribe excels the others "from the point of view" of numbers is a logical concept, though purely theoretical, but that this is the origin of most, or even of any of what are usually counted as ablatives of respect seems to me improbable. I find no signs pointing in that direction.

There are somewhat stronger reasons for calling this use instrumental or sociative. For one tribe to surpass another by means of language, customs, and laws is no far cry from surpassing it in these respects, but the difference in meaning, though slight, is quite clear, and here again the definite signposts are wanting.

On the other hand, for calling this a locative ablative we

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have not only an argument based on the logical connection but also a number of rather definite indications. The logical relationship is indicated by the almost universal translation of these phrases by the English preposition *in*, and by the fact that 'in this respect' is generally equivalent to 'in this department,' 'in this line,' or 'in this field.' The most definite indication, however, of the locative character of the ablative of respect is the rare though definite use in Latin of that same preposition *in*; for example, "similem in fraude et malitia," Cic. *Rosc. Com.* 20; "cum in avaritia, scelere, periurio vos sui similis esse arbitretur," *Verr.* II. 42; "nihil illo fuisse excellentius vel in vitiis vel in virtutibus," Nep. *Alcib.* 1. 1. Hale says that *in* is regularly used with pronouns, except relatives, and also with nouns, as "praestantia in virtute," in contrast with "praestare virtute," and he quotes from Cicero, *Fin.* III. 2. 5, "nos non modo non vinci a Graecis verborum copia, sed esse in ea etiam superiores." The preposition shows that *ea* (*copia*) is locative. It is rather hard to believe that *verborum copia* is not. Compare with this the use of *animi* in Virgil usually called locative, and said by Hale and others to express respect, as in *pendet animi*, 'uncertain in mind.' Compare also such phrases as *claudus altero pede*, called an ablative of specification by Hale, Allen and Greenough, Bennett, and D'Ooge, where the locative notion is self evident. Note also the use of *in*, meaning 'in the case of,' 'in respect to,' not quite the same thought as in the ordinary ablative of respect, but very near it. Something much like this is found in Caesar, *B. G.* v. 33. 2, "nulla in re communi saluti deerat," 'in no respect.' The only other word noted in preparatory Latin which has just this meaning of 'respect,' besides the colorless *res*, is found in Cicero, *Cat.* IV. 22, "est uno loco condicio melior externae victoriae quam domesticae," and the word itself leaves no doubt of its locative character. These positive indications, therefore, in the absence of definite evidence to the contrary, make it reasonable to classify the ablative of respect as a locative ablative.

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It may be added that there is a notable tendency in the development of prepositional phrases to use such prepositions as *in* and *cum* and *ab* much more frequently in literal and physical senses, that is, in actual space relations, than in the later developed and more figurative uses of the case. Thus 'place where' regularly takes *in*, 'time within which,' very rarely, and 'time when,' never; and the rare use of *in* with ablatives of respect is in consonance with this tendency.

The ablative of cause could have developed more or less logically from any of the three original cases. It is called separative by Allen and Greenough and by Burton, instrumental by Bennett and by Harkness, and of composite origin by Hale and by Gildersleeve. The only prepositions used are *ex* and *de*, except for a rare use of *in* with some verbs of *rejoicing*; the word *causa* itself, except in its postpositive use, is almost always used with *de*, and there is a fairly strong tendency to limit the simple ablative of cause to cases where the notion of source is clear, as with verbs of *feeling*. It seems better, therefore, to count it as a separative ablative.

The ablative of accordance is not recognized as a category by Allen and Greenough, by Gildersleeve and Lodge, or by Harkness. It is called a variety of the ablative of manner by Bennett, and separative only by Hale and by Burton. Its most characteristic use is with words meaning *custom, law, orders, wishes,* and *opinions*. It is often found with *ex* or *de* in the exact sense of the same words without a preposition, and so, in form and origin, it is closely allied with cause, although its logical connection with source is not so obvious as that of cause. Oftentimes no distinction can be drawn between cause and accordance. To do a thing because of another's wish would naturally be in accordance with it, and the two ideas are often coordinated in such a way as to indicate a basic identity, as in the following sentence: "eaque omnia (*i.e.* the restoration of order by Sulla) deorum voluntate, studio populi Romani, consilio et imperio et felicitate L. Sullae gesta esse intellego," Cic. *Rosc. Amer.* 43. In this sentence *voluntate*

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would ordinarily be classed under accordance (if that category is recognized), and *imperio* and *felicitate* under cause, while *studio* and *consilio* could rather easily show either cause or accordance, depending on whether they meant, on the one hand, *zeal* and *wisdom*, or, on the other, *eager desire* and *plan*.

In a similar sentence, "quae [scelera] tum in urbe capta commissa non sunt neque odio hostili neque licentia militari neque more belli neque iure victoriae," Cic. *Verr.* II. 52, *odio* seems clearly to indicate cause and not accordance, while *licentia*, *more*, and *iure*, from their use here and elsewhere seem to belong more under accordance than cause. In the sentence, "ex quibus rebus maxime res publica laborat," Cic. *Rosc. Amer.* 57, cause and source cannot be distinguished. The ablatives of cause and accordance are twin children of the ablative of source.

The greatest stumbling-block among the sociative ablatives is the ablative of manner. It is usually said to require an adjective modifier or the preposition *cum*, and to permit both, but this applies only to a rather restricted class of the words usually grouped under manner, though perhaps its most characteristic class, composed of abstract attributes of action, such as *courage*, *speed*, *care*, and *zeal*. Such grammars as do not recognize attendant circumstance are forced to include under manner ideas like *danger*, *praise*, *success*, and *safety*. As far as meaning goes, the name "manner" is entirely appropriate to the first group, but only partially so to the second. The fundamental objection to the term is its vagueness, the wide scope of its meaning. If we depend merely on its meaning, there *is* no single ablative of manner; there are eight or more different uses of the ablative that indicate manner. This ablative is usually defined as answering the question How? or In what way or manner? Let us test the fitness of the name and its definition by asking the following questions:

1. How, or in what manner did the tribes of Gaul differ from each other? "Lingua, institutis, legibus," *B. G.* I. 1. 2. An ablative of manner? No indeed. Why not? Does it not

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indicate manner? Yes, but it also indicates respect, and is called by that name.

2. How, or in what manner did the Bellovaci seek peace of the Romans? "Suo more," *ib.* II. 13. 3. But this is an ablative of accordance, which often takes *de*.

3. How, or in what way did Considius learn that the enemy had seized the hilltop? "A Gallicis armis," *ib.* I. 22. 1. Not manner but source.

4. How, or in what manner did Caesar think it was not safe for him to cross the Rhine? "Navibus," *ib.* IV. 17. 1. Means, not manner.

5. How, or in what way did Caesar get grain to his troops? "Flumine Arare," *ib.* I. 16. 2. An ablative of the route, or way by which. Compare also the similar use of *via* meaning 'method' or 'manner,' and of the English 'way,' in the sense of 'manner.'

6. How, or in what manner was Roscius willing to pass the rest of his life? "Vitam in egestate degere," *Rosc. Amer.* 47. And how were the murderers of Roscius living? "In caede et ex caede vivunt," *ib.* 35. The ablatives with *in* are figurative notions of place in which, and the ablative with *ex* tells how they made their living and is an ablative of source.

7. How, in what manner, do our students work? Some of them, at least, "summo cum studio." A regular ablative of manner, of course, disputed by nobody. But possibly a few few of them work *nullo cum studio.* The same kind of an ablative, if not the same kind of work. But if they work *sine ullo studio,* this has the same case as the preceding phrase and the same meaning, but is not the same kind of an ablative.

8. How did Considius ride up to Caesar? "Equo admisso," Caes. *B. G.* I. 22. 2, 'at full speed,' but an ablative absolute, not one of manner.

Here are eight ablative uses that fit the term 'manner,' but are not counted as such. On the other hand, grammarians who do not recognize an ablative of attendant circumstance, such as Allen and Greenough, Lane, and Gildersleeve and

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Lodge, and those who think attendant circumstance is never used with *cum* as Bennett and Elmer apparently do, are forced to classify under manner expressions that do not have that idea. "Other wars," says Cicero, "have been entrusted to Pompey *magna cum salute rei publicae,*" *Imp. Pomp.* 50. "Did Milo," he asks, "wish to kill Clodius at this time *cum aliquorum querella,* Clodius, whom he was unwilling to kill on an earlier occasion *cum omnium gratia?*" *Mil.* 41; and he bids Catiline set out for his wicked war "cum summa rei publicae salute, cum tua peste ac pernicie cumque eorum exitio qui se tecum . . . iunxerunt," *Cat.* I. 33. Neither the advantage to the state, nor the criticism of certain men, nor the gratitude of everybody, nor all those things, good and bad, which would immediately follow Catiline's departure, indicate in any way whatever the manner of the action concerned. What they do show is attendant circumstances. It is, therefore, very confusing and illogical to call them ablatives of manner, but not much more so than to pick out those ablatives of attendant circumstance that also indicate manner and call them by that name, keeping the name "attendant circumstance" for those that are left. For all these abstract nouns that regularly take *cum* if unmodified and generally omit it when modified may be called attendant or associated circumstance without too much stretching of the meaning of the word 'circumstance,' although such ideas as 'courage' and 'speed' might more naturally be called 'attributes.' As may be inferred, I consider the term 'ablative of manner' extremely unsatisfactory and misleading, both for students and grammarians. *Delendus est ablativus modi!*

Still another result of the use of this term has been the tendency to include under it a fairly large number of ablatives that never take *cum,* most of them not at all the same kind of words that do take *cum.* In the case of words that have the meaning of 'manner,' as in *quo modo, hac ratione,* and *via,* it is the word itself and not the case that shows manner. In regard to all these words that never take *cum* and are often classed under manner, the grammars are hopelessly at variance

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with each other, and sometimes with themselves. *Mea sententia* is called manner by Bennett, accordance by Hale and by Elmer, cause by Harkness, specification by Allen and Greenough, if without *ex*, but source, if *ex* is used. *Iussu* and *rogatu* are called cause by Bennett, Elmer, Harkness, and West, manner by D'Ooge, and accordance by Hale.

Voluntate is said to be accordance by Hale, if it means 'in accordance with another's wishes'; attendant circumstance if (in accordance) with another's willingness or consent; and manner, if in accordance with one's own wishes, or voluntarily. But any analysis of the odds and ends usually classed under manner, because, forsooth, they really do indicate manner (as well as other things), requires a more exact definition of the differences between the sociative ablatives than is ordinarily given.

What distinguishes the ablative of accompaniment from other sociative ablatives is the fact that its essential notion of association is between *nouns*, in connection, of course, with some verbal idea which it grammatically modifies. One of its commonest uses is where the *cum* is equivalent to *et*, the ablative being generally associated with the subject, but sometimes with the object, as in "equitatum cum C. Tregonio mittit," *B. G.* v. 17. 2, and occasionally with nouns in other constructions. Another fairly common use is where *cum* is equivalent to *habens* (reversing the Greek use of ἔχων), as in "fiscos cum pecunia Siciliensi esse translatos," *Verr.* I. 22; and "te stetisse in comitio cum telo," *Cat.* I. 15. Note also "ad urbem cum imperio remanere," *B. G.* VI. 1. 2, where the ablative with *cum* is an abstract noun, seldom found in an expression of accompaniment. In both these groups the association of ablative and noun is very clear. But even where the notion of the verb indicates association, as with verbs of contention, union, and comparison, the most essential notion of association is still between the two nouns. When Caesar fights with the Germans the association is more between the Germans and Caesar than between the Germans and the fighting. The only ex-

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ception to this general rule is the rare use of nouns which indicate events, where the action of the verb is associated in time with the event expressed by the ablative, as "cum occasu solis," "cum prima luce." So Caesar writes: "exit cum nuntio Crassus," *B. G.* v. 46. 3, where *cum nuntio* is usually taken to mean 'immediately upon the receipt of the message.' The ablative of accompaniment, then, might be described as an ablative of substantive association, except for the fact that this would include the ablative of description, where the association is between a noun and its own modified attribute.

Clearly distinguished from the ablative of accompaniment, as regards the kind of words associated, is the ablative of associated circumstance, including most of those usually called ablative of manner. With these the association is always between the ablative and the verb. In a few cases it may be a little difficult to distinguish this from accompaniment. When Cicero says "erit tum consul Hortensius cum summo imperio," *Verr.* I. 37, it is hard to be sure whether the supreme control is a circumstance connected with his holding the consulship, or something which he, when consul, will possess, but the latter is more probable.

As a subdivision of associated circumstance should come that particular kind called the ablative absolute, defined by Lane as denoting an attendant circumstance of an action, and this seems to me the best possible description of this construction, as it is found in the developed language. Gildersleeve and Harkness put it among the locative ablatives, but allow the possibility of instrumental origin. Allen and Greenough and Burton class it as instrumental, but with other possible sources. Hale, however, who considers of composite origin the ablatives of time, respect, cause, description, and manner, puts it definitely among the sociative ablatives, and so do Lane and Bennett. Whatever its origin, I can find, in its use in classical Latin, no notion of place or separation.

The difference between the ablative absolute and the ablative of associated circumstance previously described is that

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in the latter, where *cum* may be used, the noun itself denotes a circumstance associated with the action, while in the ablative absolute the noun is not such a word, but requires some sort of predication in order to indicate a circumstance. The second part of an ablative absolute is always, of course, a predicate adjective (including participles) or a predicate noun. This construction may then be described as an ablative of predicated circumstance, and although this statement of difference throws into the ablative absolute certain phrases seldom if ever put there, I can find no other valid distinction. One such phrase is "i pede fausto," Hor. *Ep.* I. 2. 37. Another is where Cicero, discussing long and short vowels, says: 'indoctus' dicimus brevi prima littera, 'insanus,' producta, *Or.* 159. Both these cases seem to me rather clearly ablative absolutes, with some possibility of means, though Lane calls them ablatives of manner. "Nudo capite" is a similar instance, as are also the phrases with *animo* and *mente*, in the sense of 'mind.' One can cross a river with great danger, or with bare head, or with a calm mind, and these are all circumstances associated with the crossing. One can also cross with danger (unmodified), but not with his head or his mind, considered as circumstances. Something must be said about either head or mind, to make a circumstance. A longer phrase with *animo*, which brings out more clearly its ablative absolute character, is found in *Verr.* I. 26: "animo coepi multo magis vacuo et soluto nihil aliud nisi de iudicio agere et cogitare."

The more careful grammarians note that the phrases just mentioned, with *animo, mente*, and *capite*, though usually called ablatives of manner, never take *cum*. If the distinction given above holds true, the reason is clear. This analysis may also help explain a statement by Hale that except for very common nouns the ablative of manner may take *cum* with abstract but not with concrete nouns. This distinction seems directly contrary to the ordinary usage, according to which local and concrete relations are much more likely to have prepositions than those which are figurative and abstract, as

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noted earlier in this paper. Hale offers no explanation of this anomaly, but two of his illustrations of the ablative of manner with concrete nouns, "nudo corpore," and "aequo animo," seem to be ablative absolutes, as shown above. In his third illustrative sentence, "statuit non proeliis neque acie sed alio more bellum gerundum," Sall. *Jug.* 54. 5, *proeliis* and *acie* may reasonably be considered as means, and *alio more*, as argued above, is probably accordance, and often takes *de*. Hale's fourth and last illustration is "pedibus proeliantur." Nothing but the utter confusion caused by the term "ablative of manner" could explain the grouping of *pedibus* and *cum virtute* as similar ablatives. *Pedibus* is probably an ablative of means, for the statement is made (*B. G.* IV. 2. 3) about horsemen who in this case used their feet. Compare Prop. II, 23 (27), 5, "seu pedibus Parthos sequimur seu classe Britannos."

The statement that *capite* never takes *cum* in such phrases as are mentioned above is perhaps too strong. Some fifteen years ago there was published a rather remarkable book, designed for twelve year old Latin students in their second year's work. One of its authors was a college professor, editor of other school and college textbooks, and a man of no mean repute in the classical world. The illustrative sentences in this book, often badly garbled, are drawn from eight centuries of Latin literature, and the book is filled with a thousand and one mistakes, plain and fancy, such as ablatives of means with *cum*, and alternative conditions called indirect questions, but the high spot is reached in a short history of Caesar's British expedition, "in Caesar's own words." Now Caesar says (*B. G.* V. 18. 5) that the soldiers advanced with vigor though only their heads were out of water, "cum capite solo ex aqua exstarent." But the editors, by the simple expedient of leaving out the verb of this clause, thereby transforming the conjunction *cum* into a preposition, and by adding two words of their own, get the following result: "Flumen transierunt cum capite solo ex aqua." An ablative absolute, introduced by *cum*, and having, as its predicate part, a prepositional phrase!

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Even after shifting to attendant circumstance all the *cum* ablatives usually classed under manner, and some others, and transferring the ablative absolutes to their own corral, there remains quite a bunch of heterogeneous mavericks, often assembled under manner, that still need branding. Most words that in themselves have the meaning of 'manner' or 'system,' as used in *quo modo* and *hac ratione*, fit well into the notion of accordance. Among this category's most characteristic words are *mos*, *consuetudo*, and *lex*. But one of the well established meanings of *mos* is that of 'mode,' 'fashion,' 'way,' practically synonymous with the like meaning of *modus*, and laws are developed from manners and customs. *Via*, meaning 'way,' in the sense of 'method' or 'manner,' must be a figurative extension of route, with the basic notion of means. Also under accordance go rather easily the words *ritu*, *sponte*, *consilio*, *ordine*, *merito*, and Hale's versatile *voluntate*. *Iure* and *iniuria* fit well the notion of associated circumstance, but never have *cum*, as is usual for unmodified nouns. *Iure* however, with a meaning close to that of *lege*, fits well with accordance, and *iniuria* is an easy analogical extension from it, like *iniussu* from *iussu*. On this point compare the legal phrase *de jure*, and Cicero's question about Roscius' property: "bona quo iure, aut quo more, aut qua lege venierint quaero," *Rosc. Amer.* 37. Note also what Roscius thinks about it: "Putat ista omnia more, lege, iure gentium facta," *ib.* 47.

But after all there will remain the lunatic fringe, the words that cannot be classified with any degree of certainty. For words are too elusive, too much the product of the varying shades of thought and feeling that lie behind them, to be wholly subject to rule and line. But language, as the product and instrument of reasoning minds, is fundamentally reasonable, and if Latin is to be taught, not as an end in itself, but as a means to intelligent translation, or for the training of the logical faculties, or for both, it is our business to make it seem as reasonable as it really is, and especially to avoid meaningless or misleading names, and explanations that do not explain.

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IX.—*Plutarch and the Ruler Cult*

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In recent years there has been much discussion of the religious views of Plutarch of Chaeroneia.[1] His attitude towards the ruler-cult, however, has been, as far as I know, quite neglected. Dealing as Plutarch does with preeminent statesmen, founders of cities, and rulers of almost superhuman vices and virtues, it is only natural that he touches upon the subject of the imperial cult; in the accounts which he records of divine honors paid to men I hope to show that he has revealed his true feelings about the ruler cult and at the same time his political philosophy of the kingship, a philosophy which, I believe, was that of at least the intellectual classes of his time.

In some cases a single sentence or an adjective or two, used in connection with the deification of men, serves as an index to Plutarch's own sentiments regarding such a matter. This is true in his description of the decrees passed by the Athenians out of gratitude towards Demetrius Poliorcetes for his generosity and for his liberating them from Macedonian control.[2] "But by the immoderate honors which they voted him," writes Plutarch, "they made him hateful (ἐπαχθῆ) and detestable (βαρύν)";[3] and again, *à propos* of further attempts to

[1] L. Valentin, "L'idée de Dieu dans Plutarque," *Revue Thomiste* (1914), 313–327, 567–589.

C. Clerc, "Plutarque et le Culte des Images," *Rev. de l'hist. des rel.* LXX (1914), 107–124.

B. Latzarus, *Les idées religieuses de Plutarque*, 1920.

Seillière, "La religion de Plutarque," *Séances et travaux de l'Académie des Sc. mor. et polit.*, Nov.–Dec. 1921, 422–434.

P. Geigenmüller, "Plutarchs Stellung zur Religion und Philosophie seiner Zeit," *N. Jahrb.* (1921), 251–270.

[2] See my article, "The Deification of Demetrius Poliorcetes," *A.J.P.* XLIX (1928), 137–166 and 217–239.

[3] *Demetr.* 10, 2.

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flatter Demetrius, we find Plutarch's remark that "The most monstrous device (ὑπερφυέστατον ἐνθύμημα) of Stratocles was his motion that the ambassadors sent to Demetrius should be called θεωροί or 'sacred ambassadors,'"[4] while after a discussion of this motion it is stated that Stratocles was in other matters also παράτολμος or 'exceedingly audacious.' When, too, some other Athenian, trying to surpass the servility of Stratocles, proposed further divine honors for Demetrius, Plutarch passes judgment thereon by quoting Aristophanes[5] to the effect that "there are things hotter even than fire." Moreover the motion of Dromocleides the Sphettian that the Athenians get an oracle from Demetrius as a savior is characterized by the biographer as an honor "unnatural" (ὑπερφυές) and "monstrous" (ἀλλόκοτον),[6] and "by so making mock of the man [Demetrius] they corrupted him, while he was not even before of sound mind."[7]

In his treatment of Alexander the Great and Mark Antony likewise, Plutarch has, through more or less casual remarks, revealed his scorn for the cult of the ruler. In his essay entitled "How to tell a flatterer from a friend," Plutarch with reference to flatterers writes: "Indeed consumed through such scars or rather gangrenes and cancers, Alexander destroyed Callisthenes, Parmenio, and Philotas. But he unreservedly entrusted himself to men like Hagno, Bagoas, Agesias, and Demetrius to be upset by being bowed down to (προσκυνούμενον), dressed up, and decked out like a barbaric idol."[8]

From the essay of Plutarch on the "Fortune or Virtue of Alexander the Great" we see clearly that he considers references to Alexander's supposed descent from Zeus Ammon as mere poetic flattery, when, for example, he says: "But as for the sayings of Alexander, if you take away the diadem, Ammon, and his noble birth, they appear to you those of Socrates or

[4] *Demetr.* 11, 1–2.
[5] *Eq.* 382.
[6] *Demetr.* 13, 1.
[7] *Ib.* 2.
[8] *Mor.* 65 D.

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Plato or Pythagoras. For let us not regard the boastful speeches (μεγαληγορίας) which the poets engraved on his likenesses and statues, exalting not the moderation but the power of Alexander:

"'The bronze which looks toward Zeus seems to say, *I place the earth beneath my sway, but do you, O Zeus, Olympus hold* and *I am the son of Zeus.*' These accordingly, as I have said, were the statements of the poets in their flattery of his fortune." [9]

In his life of Alexander, Plutarch sets forth with evident approval what seems to him to have been Alexander's real policy regarding deification: "In general towards the barbarians he was haughty and like one thoroughly persuaded about his being engendered and begotten by a god, but with the Greeks he was moderate and sparing in his claim to divinity. Still, in writing to the Athenians about Samos, he said with reference to Philip, 'I could not have given you that free and famous city, for you hold it, having received it from him who was then your lord and was called my father.' But at a later time when he was wounded by an arrow and was suffering greatly he said, 'This, O friends, which is flowing is blood, and not

Ichor, such as flows in the blessed gods.'

And when on a certain occasion after there came a peal of thunder and all were terrified, Anaxarchus, the Sophist, who was present, said to him, 'Could you, the son of Zeus, thunder thus?', Alexander replied with a laugh, 'No, for I do not wish to be awesome to my friends, as you wish me to be, since you despise my banquet because you see fish upon the tables and not the heads of satraps.' For in fact it is said that Anaxarchus, when small fish were sent to Hephaestion by the king, made the remark just mentioned as if he were disparaging and making fun of those who pursue eminence with great hardships and dangers but of pleasures and delights have little or nothing more than others. Accordingly, even from what has been

[9] *Ib.* 330 F–331 A.

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said, Alexander himself was obviously in no wise convinced of or blinded by (τετυφωμένος) belief in his divinity, but by it he enslaved others." [10]

So also in speaking of the rabble of performers and musicians who were in attendance on Antony, and just before describing the scene of Antony's reception as Dionysus in Ephesus, Plutarch criticizes such identification and flattery in the following words: "It was in no wise endurable, since everything was devoted to these pursuits." [11]

These opinions of Plutarch which have been referred to so far have been more or less occasional remarks. Elsewhere, however, he bursts forth into scathing denunciation of the folly of deifying a ruler and of the flattery or vainglory that lies behind it. Thus in the essay, already mentioned, on "How to tell a flatterer from a friend," Plutarch holds up to ridicule the cult of kings and emperors: "But as for the praise that makes one accustomed to consider vices as virtues, not being disgusted but rejoicing in them, and as for the praise that removes the sense of shame for one's transgressions, this it is which crushed the Sicilians by calling the savagery of Dionysius and Phalaris 'hatred of wickedness'; this destroyed Egypt by naming Ptolemy's effeminacy and religious frenzy and hallelujahs and clashing of cymbals 'piety' and 'service of the gods.' This in those times all but overthrew and destroyed the Roman people by trying to excuse Antony's luxuriousness and excesses and displays as 'joyous and kindly actions due to the unstinting good treatment of him by power and fortune.' And what else was it that fastened on Ptolemy the mouthband and flutes? What else set for Nero the stage of tragedy and clothed him in mask and buskins? Was it not the praise of his flatterers? And is not almost any king called Apollo if he hums a tune, Dionysus if he gets drunk, and Heracles if he wrestles? And is he not, rejoicing, led into every sort of shame by flattery?" [12]

[10] *Alex.* 28.

[11] *Ant.* 24, 2–3.

[12] *Mor.* 56 E–F.

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The identification of monarchs with Apollo,[13] Dionysus,[14] and Heracles [15] was exceedingly common in the Hellenistic Age and in the time of imperial Rome. Although Plutarch was, of course, familiar with all or most of these identifications, yet in the passage just quoted he was certainly making a special attack upon Nero, and perhaps upon Caligula also. With regard to Gaius Caligula it will suffice to cite Dio Cassius: "And when some called him a hero and others a god he became quite out of his head. Now he had even before this demanded that he be considered as more than man, while he stated that he had intercourse with the Moon and was crowned by Victory. He likewise pretended that he was Zeus and he made this an excuse for having intercourse with many other women and especially his sisters. Again he impersonated Poseidon, because he had bridged so great an expanse of the sea; he also played the part of *Heracles, Dionysus, Apollo,* and the other gods, not only male but also female, since often he would represent himself as Hera, Artemis, and Aphrodite, for according to the change of name he would assume all the rest of their attributes that he might seem to be like them; at one time he would be seen effeminate and holding a mixing bowl and thyrsus, but at another time masculine and bearing a club and lion's skin or even a helmet or shield. Moreover, he appeared smooth of chin and after this with a beard. And sometimes he wielded a trident and again he brandished a thunderbolt. He would imperson-

[13] See P. Riewald, "De imperatorum Romanorum cum certis dis et comparatione et aequatione," *Diss. Hal.* xx, 3 (1912). This work is a very good collection of source material on the ruler cult. See on the identification of Augustus with Apollo, W. Deonna, "Le Trésor des Fins d'Annecy," *Rev. Arch.* xi (1920), 112 ff., and E. H. Haight, "An 'Inspired Message' in the Augustan Poets," *A.J.P.* xxxix (1918), 341–366.

[14] On the "New Dionysus" see the recent article of A. D. Nock, "Notes on the Ruler Cult, I–IV," *J.H.S.* xlviii (1928), 21–43.

[15] Identification with Heracles from Alexander to Augustus has been treated by A. R. Anderson in his article "Heracles and His Successors," *Harv. Stud.* xxxix (1928), 7–58. On the period of the Roman empire see Riewald and Rostovtzeff, "Commodus-Hercules in Britain," *J.R.S.* xiii (1923), 91–109. My article on "Honorific Months in Greek and Roman Calendars" (to appear in *Yale Classical Studies*, ii) touches upon this subject.

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ate a maiden huntress or warrior, and a little later he would play the part of a married woman. So by the form of his attire and by masks and wigs he made many changes, while he desired to be anything rather than a man and emperor." [16]

However, it was Nero who was uppermost in Plutarch's thoughts when he wrote the passage which we are discussing. For one thing, in the passage itself we have seen the words "What else set for Nero the stage of tragedy and clothed him in mask and buskins? Was it not the praise of his flatterers?" It is immediately after this direct reference to Nero that the identifications with Apollo, Dionysus, and Heracles are mentioned, suggested to Plutarch, it is likely enough, by the thought of Nero, for whom the biographer has expressed the most cordial dislike.[17]

We know, furthermore, that Nero was identified with Apollo as god of music and the sun god. At a show given for Tiridates the curtains which were drawn over the opening in the roof of the theatre had, embroidered in the centre, a likeness of Nero driving a chariot and surrounded by golden stars.[18] In the Golden House of Nero there was a circular banquet hall which always day and night revolved like the heavens.[19] Here again there may be evidence of Nero's identification with the god of the sun. Then when Nero celebrated the first shaving of his beard he was hailed by the Augustans with the words: "Excellent Caesar, *Apollo*, Augustus, you are another Pythian." [20] On the return of Nero from Greece the population of Rome, and especially the senators, greeted him thus: "Hail, Olympian Victor! Hail, Pythian Victor! Augustus! Augustus! Hail to Nero the Heracles! Hail to Nero the Apollo!" [21] The

[16] Dio, LIX, 26, 5–8.

[17] *Ant.* 87, 4: "This Nero who reigned in my time killed his mother and by his capriciousness and madness fell but little short of overthrowing the Roman Empire"; *Mor.* 505 C: "The idle talk of one man prevented the city of Rome from becoming free by doing away with Nero." See also, *Mor.* 567 F, where Plutarch describes the torture of the soul of Nero in the lower world.

[18] Dio, LXIII, 6.

[19] Suet. *Nero*, 22, 2.

[20] Dio, LXII, 20, 5.

[21] *Ib.* LXIII, 20, 5.

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following account of Suetonius substantiates that of Dio: "Since it was thought that he equalled Apollo in singing and Sol in chariot driving he had even planned to imitate the deeds of Heracles as well. And they say that a lion had been prepared which he was to kill naked in the arena of the amphitheatre with a club or with his embrace in the sight of the people." [22]

Although Dionysus does not seem to be directly associated with Nero in our literary tradition, yet it is almost certain that Nero impersonated that god also just as Caligula had done. Suetonius writes: "He also sang tragedies, impersonating heroes and gods and likewise heroines and goddesses, while he wore masks in the likeness of himself and of any woman with whom he was in love." [23] We shall presently see that Plutarch has elsewhere assailed the identification of Nero with divinities, although the emperor is not explicitly mentioned by name.

In his essay on "The Fortune or Virtue of Alexander the Great" Plutarch points out that, although Alexander was not intoxicated with pride and prosperity, yet his successors were drunk with even a share of his good fortune: "Cleitus after sinking at Amorgos three or four Greek triremes called himself Poseidon and carried a trident. And Demetrius, to whom Fortune distributed a small part of the power of Alexander, assumed the name *Kataibates*, and to him the cities did not send envoys but sacred ambassadors and they called his decisions oracles. Lysimachus, who held the district around Thrace, as it were some outskirts of the kingdom, reached such a pitch of pride and boldness as to say, 'Now the people of Byzantium come to me since I touch heaven with my spear.' And Pasiades of Byzantium who was present said, 'Let us depart, lest he pierce heaven with the point of his spear.' And yet what might one have to say of these for whom it was possible to have lofty ideas on account of Alexander, since even Clearchus on becoming tyrant of Heraclea carried a sceptre

[22] *Nero*, 53.
[23] *Ib.* 21, 3.

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and named one of his sons "Thunderbolt"? Dionysius called himself the son of Apollo in the inscription:

'Sprung from a Dorian mother and a sire Apollo.'

His father had destroyed ten thousand citizens or even more, had betrayed his brother to the enemy out of envy, and, not waiting for his aged mother to die a few days later but having her strangled, he himself wrote in a tragedy:

'For tyranny is the mother of injustice.'

And yet of his own daughters he named one Virtue, another Temperance, and another Justice. And others called themselves Benefactors (Εὐεργέτας), others Glorious Conquerors (Καλλινίκους), others Saviors (Σωτῆρας), and others the Great (Μεγάλους), But no one could finish recounting the promiscuous marriages of those, who, like horses, spent all their time among herds of women, their corruption of boys, their beating of timbrels among eunuchs, their perpetual dicing, their flute playing in theaters, their nights spent in banquets and their days in feasts." [24]

This thirst for deification is, according to Plutarch, due in large part to a man's making comparisons of his own estate with that of others instead of paying attention to himself and his own affairs, for, in the essay on "The Tranquility of the Mind" Plutarch writes: "Moreover even this contributes greatly to the peace of mind, namely for a man to consider especially himself and his own affairs, but if he does not do this, to consider those inferior in station to himself, and not, like the many, make comparison with those in a higher position. So, for example, slaves in chains consider blessed those who are not in bonds, and those who are not shackled find happy the lot of the freedmen; the freedmen think the citizens fortunate, and these in turn the wealthy; the wealthy would be satraps, and the satraps kings, while the kings look with envy on the gods and are only content to hurl thunderbolts and dart lightning. Thus those who ever want what is above them never

[24] *Mor.* 338 A–C.

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are grateful for what they have."[25] Here again in the case of the rulers who wish to hurl thunderbolts and dart lightning Plutarch is very likely thinking especially of Nero or Caligula, or perhaps of both.

In his work on "Isis and Osiris" Plutarch represents deification as foolish and ephemeral, as bringing no lasting glory. He says: "And if some exalted by vainglory, as Plato says, with their souls inflamed at once with youth and folly, out of insolence accepted names of gods and the erection of temples, still this glory flowered for a short time; then these, incurring the charge of vanity and arrogance along with impiety and lawlessness, swift-fated met the fate of smoke and flew away; and now, dragged away from their shrines and altars like fugitive slaves, they have nothing save their monuments and tombs. Hence the elder Antigonus, when a certain Hermodotus in his poems called him the son of the Sun and a god, replied, 'He who empties my stool knows no such things!' Moreover, the sculptor Lysippus did well to blame the painter Apelles because Apelles in painting the portrait of Alexander placed in his hands the thunderbolt, while Lysippus himself placed in the hands of Alexander a spear, 'for of this glory,' he said, 'no time would rob him since it was true to life and was his own.'"[26]

This same idea regarding the transitory character of excessive honors is to be found in the "Political Precepts," where, in treating of honors from the people, Plutarch writes: "He, accordingly, is best who desires none of these things but avoids and refuses them. But if it be not easy to refuse some favor and friendliness of the people which inclines in this direction, an inscription, a tablet, a decree, or a branch suffices as for those who have carried on a contest of the state not for silver or gifts, but who have fought a fight truly sacred and worthy of a crown . . .; but of the hundred statues of Demetrius Phalereus none was ever covered with rust or dirt, but while he

[25] *Mor.* 470 B.

[26] *Mor.* 360 C–D.

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was still alive they were all torn down; those of Demades they melted into chamberpots. And many honors have met a similar fate, being hateful not only on account of the depravity of the receiver but also because of the greatness of the gift. Therefore, the fairest and surest means of preserving honor is moderation, but honors which are great and immoderate and weighty are quickly overthrown just like ill-proportioned statues."[27] In this passage, to be sure, Plutarch does not definitely mention divine honors, but his remarks are applicable to such honors, and I believe that they were made in part, at least, with reference to them.

Plutarch does more than express his disapproval of the ruler cult, for he points out what he believes the true glory of the prince to be, namely virtue, especially political virtue and absolute justice. It is in Plutarch's "Discourse to an Unlearned Prince" that we find this idea clearly expressed along with a condemnation of the actual worship of rulers. This one passage from Plutarch has been translated and admirably discussed by Goodenough, whom I shall copy *verbatim* on this point: "The fragment opens with the statement of the difficulty of giving advice to kings. 'For they fear to receive reason [the *logos*] as their ruler, lest, by its enslaving them to what is proper, it curtail the advantages of their authoritative position.' As a matter of fact, he goes on, if the *logos* curtails power, it does so in a way which enhances the value of being a ruler. For example, Theopompus, king of Sparta, guided by this *logos* added the Ephors to the system of rulership in Sparta, an act which, as his wife protested, seemed to diminish his powers as king. But Theopompus denied that he had diminished the advantages of his office, for in somewhat curtailing his jurisdiction he had at the same time much lessened the danger to which the king was exposed from envy. 'So while by directing into others the principle of rulership, like a great stream [from himself], he diminished himself by what he gave to others; yet the *logos*, which is implanted in the ruler by

[27] *Mor.* 820 C, E, and F.

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philosophy as his throne mate and guardian, takes away the dangerous part of his power, which is of itself seemingly healthy and leaves the wholesome part.' But most rulers are unintelligent, and in consequence are like colossal statues which are very impressive outside but are actually only dirt or stone.

So if a ruler is to be truly such he must begin with self-discipline, else he can never teach self-control to his subjects. Nor is he to desire that foible of many rulers, especially of the Persian king, the feeling that he is free of all external restraint; on the contrary he must be conscious constantly of himself being ruled. But by what? '"By the Law, which is king of all, mortals and immortals," as Pindar said. Not by that law which is written externally in books and on tablets, but by the Law which is animate [ἔμψυχος] in him, viz. the Logos, which dwells with him and protects him, and never leaves his soul without guidance.' In Plutarch, the late Platonist, then, this Animate Law conception has been fully identified with the Logos. The true king is the incarnate representation of the universal Nomos, and as such he is the incarnate representation of the Logos. The conception is expressed, like much of the early Christian Christology, in terms of a tripartite division of human nature into body, soul, and *logos*. And apparently it is generalized in such a form that anyone whose life is guided by reason might be represented as an Animate Nomos-Logos, or king. Such seems to be a corollary which Plutarch draws in traditional form. Still the true king is officially in a unique position. For 'the rulers are ministers of God for the care and safety of mankind, that they may distribute or hold in safe keeping the blessings and benefits which God gives to men.' The forces of nature, preëminently the sun, are working wonders about us, yet none of their productions can be properly used or enjoyed without law, justice, and the ruler. 'So justice [δίκη] is the end of law, and law is the business [or product, ἔργον] of the ruler, while the ruler is the image of God who ordains all things. So he has no need of the art of Pheidias or Polycletus or Myron, but by his virtue he makes

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himself into the closest likeness to God, and fashions himself into the fairest to behold of all statues, and the one most appropriate to divine majesty. And just as God put in heaven the sun, his exceeding beautiful image, and the moon, such also is the ruler in the city, his copy and effulgence, "when he dispenses Godlike justice." And such he is when he has intelligence [διάνοιαν], the Logos of God, not by virtue of his sceptre, or of the thunderbolt or trident with which some have themselves carved and depicted, making thereby their folly invidious to the Unattainable One. For God visits with nemesis those who copy his thunder and lightning and radiation of sunbeams [ἀκτινοβολία], while he delights to augment those who desire his virtue and wish to make themselves like him in beauty and love of mankind; and he shares with them the fine order, justice, truth, and mercy which surround him. Not fire, nor light, nor the course of the sun, nor the rising and setting of the stars, no, not eternity nor immortality are more divine than these. For God is not happy by reason of the duration of his life, but by the fact that he is ruler of virtue; such is true divinity, while to be ruled by virtue is a beautiful thing also.'

Far from its being true, as Anaxarchus tried to convince Alexander, that everything the king does is *ipso facto* just (notice this tradition which was also a part of Hellenistic law, and was doomed to reappear in some of the most important crises of history), the king must conform himself to justice. For Zeus has not Themis and Dike for throne mates in the sense that they are subservient to his arbitrary whims, but his nature is itself that of Themis and Dike, and a king who is like him will resemble him in these virtues. After illustrations of virtuous and vicious rulers, Plutarch returns to the metaphysical aspects of kingship.

What some philosophers say is neither probable nor proper, viz. that God is mingled in with matter which is completely passive, or with things, which are subject to a myriad of necessities, fates, and changes. Rather he is fixed somehow about [all that] with a nature which is eternally unchanging; and turning about naturally on holy foundations, as Plato says, he perfects his work immediately

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[or in a straight line]. And just as the sun in heaven, his surpassingly beautiful image, reveals his likeness in its reflection of him to those who can see him thus, so he has established in the state the effulgence of high justice and of his attendant Logos like a picture which those who have been made blessed and self-controlled by philosophy copy, in order to shape themselves into the most beautiful of objects. But this state of affairs is brought about by nothing else than the Logos which is produced by philosophy." [28]

Thus we see that Plutarch's political philosophy of the kingship is based upon the theory of the ideal ruler as the νόμος ἔμψυχος or Animate Law, a theory elaborated by the Pythagorean school of the Hellenistic age, as Goodenough has shown elsewhere in his excellent article. I believe that it will be obvious to everyone, from what has been previously demonstrated concerning Plutarch's attitude toward Nero and his attempts to impersonate gods,[29] that here too Plutarch is thinking of Nero when he writes of the folly of those who had themselves depicted with sceptre, trident, and thunderbolt and of the vengeance which pursues those who copy God's thunder, lightning, and radiation of sunbeams. We shall presently see from other material which was not used by Goodenough that Plutarch did not express his political theory merely in this one passage in which he is dealing with the special problem of the kingship, but that the theory is often in his mind and permeates his writings.

In the discourse entitled "How a man may praise himself without being envied" Plutarch advises a commander (Can Plutarch have intended his words for some definite emperor, for Trajan perhaps?) to eschew divine honors and hope that people will honor his good qualities. "Nay, further," he writes, "it becomes even a commander who is admired because of his experience in war or his good fortune to speak freely of his own mildness and justice; and again on the other hand when

[28] E. R. Goodenough, "The Political Philosophy of Hellenistic Kingship," *Yale Classical Studies*, I (1928), 94–96.

[29] See above pp. 120–123.

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some excessive praises of him are spoken, such odious remarks as many flatterers utter, it is for him to say:

'I am no god. Why do you liken me to the immortals?'

But if you know me truly, praise my incorruptibility or my wisdom or my prudence or my kindness, for not unwillingly does envy grant more moderate honors to the man who refuses greater ones, while true praise is not taken from those who do not accept false and empty honors. Therefore even of the kings some who did not wish to be called gods or children of gods, but Philadelphus or Philometer or Euergetes or Theophilus, were not angered when people called them by these splendid but human titles." [30]

It is just after recounting the deification of Romulus, of Aristeas, of Cleomedes, and of Alcmene that Plutarch remonstrates thus against the tendency to deify a ruler because of his purely bodily and mortal qualities and by civic decree: "Accordingly to reject altogether the divinity of virtue is unholy and base, but to mingle earth with heaven is stupid. We must, then, holding to what is safe, grant, as Pindar does, that 'the bodies of all must follow death which is exceeding strong; but living still is left an image of life, for this alone is from the gods.' For thence it comes and thither it returns, not with its body, but only when it is especially sundered and separated from the body and becomes in all respects pure and fleshless and undefiled. 'For,' according to Heracleitus, 'a dry soul is best, flying from the body like lightning from a cloud.' But the soul which is mingled with and very full of body, like a weighty and misty exhalation, is hard to loose [from the body] and hard to bring back [to its source]. We should, therefore, in no wise, contrary to nature, send to heaven the bodies of good men, but we should by all means believe that their virtues and their souls according to nature and divine justice arise from men to heroes, from heroes to *daimones*, and when they have become completely cleansed and

[30] *Mor.* 543 D–E.

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purified as in the rite of initiation and have escaped from all that is mortal and capable of sensation, then, not by law of a city (οὐ νόμῳ πόλεως), but with truth and in accordance with right reason, they arise from *daimones* to gods, thus receiving the fairest and most blessed consummation." [31]

Plutarch's use of the phrase οὐ νόμῳ πόλεως "not by law of a city" strikes directly at the imperial cult and at the many divine honors decreed by numerous cities to king or emperor. The decree of a city is a flimsy indication of affection for a ruler, and the receiver is cautioned to estimate his own acts; besides, the acceptance of immoderate honors is likely to bring with it the hatred of the people. As has already been shown, Plutarch criticized sharply the divine honors accorded Demetrius Poliorcetes, and, in treating of the Athenians' defection from the cause of Demetrius after the battle of Ipsus, he writes as follows: "For, as it would seem, the most paltry evidence of the people's good will towards kings and rulers is excess of honors. And, since the worth of these honors depends upon the purpose of the bestowers, fear takes away all confidence in them, for the same decrees are passed by those who fear and those who love. People of sense, therefore, considering not statues nor paintings nor deification, but rather their own deeds and accomplishments, will either believe in their honors as genuine or will mistrust them as given through constraint, in as much as the people in these very honors often hate most those who receive such honors as are immoderate and excessive from unwilling givers." [32]

On one occasion Plutarch refers to a saying about "kingship that makes men like to gods." [33] The meaning of such words is to be found, I believe, in the theory of the ideal ruler as Animate Law. We have learned something of this from the one passage in Plutarch which was discussed by Goodenough. It is possible, however, to present further evidence on Plutarch's

[31] *Rom.* 28, 5.

[32] *Demetr.* 30, 4–5.

[33] "De fraterno amore," *Mor.* 479 A.

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political philosophy of the kingship as well as on his opinions about the ruler cult. In his high rating of justice as the chief virtue and office of the kingship Plutarch was following Hellenistic tradition.[34] It is, therefore, no surprise to find that Plutarch described in the following terms the emotions of the Greeks after Titus Flamininus had proclaimed the freedom of Greece: "To be sure (they said) courage and wisdom are rare among men, but the rarest of all good things is the *just* man." [35]

Again we read in Plutarch's life of Solon that "many citizens who belonged to neither party were not reluctant to have as the overseer of the state one man, the *most just* and the *wisest* . . . while his (Solon's) friends especially found fault with him because on account of the name he looked with disfavor upon tyranny (*μοναρχίαν*), as if, by the virtue (*ἀρετῆ*) of him who took it, it would not at once become a lawful kingship (*βασιλείαν*)." [36] It is, then, evident that Plutarch founds the true kingship on justice, wisdom, and virtue. He introduces exactly this idea in the form of what purport to be the words of Marcius and the father of Numa when they are pictured as urging Numa to accept the proferred kingship of the Romans: "Even if you yourself do not desire wealth because of your abundance thereof and even if you do not covet the glory of sovereignty and dominion since you have a greater glory from your *virtue*, still at least consider that being a *lawful king* (*βασιλεύειν*) is service of God, who rouses up and does not suffer to lie dormant and remain inactive the so great *justice* (*δικαιοσύνην*) which is in you." [37] Here once more is the theory that justice, that Animate Law rests as a gift of God in a potential ruler and that this justice must be used in the service of mankind and not remain inactive; moreover the exercise of this divine justice through virtue by a king insures a true kingship or *βασιλεία* and not a tyranny or *μοναρχία*.

[34] I do not for a moment mean to suggest that the theory of the true king as Animate Law arose in the Hellenistic Age. It surely was formulated in previous centuries in the east.

[35] *Flam.* 11, 2.

[36] *Solon*, 14, 3.

[37] *Numa*, 6, 1–2.

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In his life of Demetrius Plutarch insists that the principal function of the king is the administration of justice which is sent from Zeus, in other words the divine Logos which flows from God into the ruler who is to dispense it as the vicegerent of Zeus on earth. "For nothing," he writes, "so befits a king as the work of justice. For 'Ares is tyrant (τύραννος),' as Timotheos says, but according to Pindar 'Law is king of all.' And Homer refers to kings as receiving from Zeus to preserve and guard not city takers nor ships with brazen beaks but 'laws established by custom' (θέμιστας); and he calls the familiar friend and pupil of Zeus not the most warlike and most unjust (ἀδικώτατον) and most murderous of kings but the most just (δικαιότατον)." Moreover the Hellenistic kings such as Demetrius and his type were in the eyes of Plutarch no true kings and representatives of Zeus, "for," he continues, "Demetrius rejoiced at receiving a surname most unlike those of the king of the gods, for Zeus is surnamed Guardian-of-the-city (πολιεύς) or Protector-of-the-city (πολιοῦχος), but Demetrius, Taker-of-cities (Πολιορκητής). Thus vice brought forward to the place of virtue by power without wisdom associates closely injustice with fame." [38]

In dealing with Aristides Plutarch deplores the fact that justice, the one divine excellence within the reach of man, had no appeal for the Hellenistic kings, and the one divine title to which they did not aspire was that of ὁ Δίκαιος "The Just," the most kingly and the most godlike surname of them all: "Of all Aristides' virtues especially did his justice cause remark among the many because of his most continual and common use of it. And on this account, poor man of the people that he was, he obtained the most kingly and most divine title, namely, 'The Just.' Now this title none of the kings and tyrants sought, but they rejoiced in being called 'Takers-of-cities' (Πολιορκηταί) and 'Thunderbolts' (Κεραυνοί) and 'Conquerors' (Νικάτορες), and some of them 'Eagles' (Ἀετοί) and 'Hawks' (Ἱέρακες), loving the reputation derived from violence and

[38] *Demetr.* 42, 5.

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might, as it seems, rather than that from virtue. And yet divinity, with which they strive to associate themselves and to which they wish to make themselves quite like, is thought to excel in three points, in incorruptibility, in might, and in virtue, while of the three even the most holy and most divine is virtue. For the void of space and the elements partake of incorruption, while earthquakes and thunderbolts and rushing winds and attacking streams have great might, but of justice (δίκη) and law (θέμις) nothing has a share without having understanding (φρονεῖν) and Logos (λογίζεσθαι).

Therefore with regard to the three feelings which the many have towards divinity, namely envy, fear, and honor, they seem to envy and deem happy the gods on account of their incorruption and perpetuity, to dread and fear them on account of their ruling power and might, but to love and honor and revere them on account of their justice (δικαιοσύνην). But, even though they are so disposed, they ardently desire immortality, of which our nature has no share, and power, which for the most part rests with fortune. Virtue, however, which is the only divine excellence to which we may aspire, they rate lowest, and they do so with bad judgment, since justice renders divine a life spent in power and great fortune and authority, but injustice renders such a life bestial." [39]

Especially significant in the passage just cited is the statement that nothing shares in justice without understanding and Logos (the verb used is λογίζεσθαι), clearly the divine Logos which makes the true king νόμος ἔμψυχος, or Animate Law.

It is, perhaps, only in the legendary character of king Numa, who united in his person virtue, the understanding of the philosopher, and the royal power, that Plutarch sees the ideal ruler of Plato's *Republic*. Such a life as that of Numa, influencing through its example all the people, appears to Plutarch the fairest end of all government. It may be that Plutarch saw in Trajan or Hadrian an approach to the just and ideal king, but this is only a possibility for which we have

[39] *Aristides*, 6.

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no evidence of any kind. On the other hand, it is clear that the Hellenistic kings and Roman emperors of the past or of his own time fell far short of Plutarch's conception of the true king. It is, therefore, no wonder that we find in his works only scorn for the ruler cult and that without mentioning his name he attacks the mad imitation of deity by Nero, in whose reign Plutarch himself lived. Justice is the only divine quality to which man may aspire.

It does not seem out of place to close this investigation with Plutarch's citation of inscriptional evidence which bears witness, as it happens, to the prevalence of Plutarch's own theory of the true kingship in the time of Aratus. The exiles whom Aratus had restored set up in his native city a statue of him which bore the following inscription in elegiac verse:

"The counsels, the struggles, and the prowess of this man in behalf of Hellas are known as far as the Pillars of Heracles; and we, because we obtained our restoration through you, have set up to the savior gods this statue of you, our savior, O Aratus, in return for your Virtue (ἀρετᾶς) and Justice (δικαιοσύνας), because you have given to your native city a sacred and divine system of good law." [40]

[40] *Aratus*, 14, 3.

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X.—*The Character of Clytemnestra in the Agamemnon of Aeschylus*

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No drama with which I am familiar moves me comparably to the *Agamemnon* of Aeschylus. I cannot imagine a more interesting task than to study the character of Clytemnestra in psychological detail, as an actor must do in order to impersonate her. I think it is wise for those of the academic habit of thought to keep clearly in mind that the Greek playwrights, working under stimulus of competition, inevitably were bent on fashioning something which would "play well." Or, to reverse the idea and limit its application, the creative actor's criterion of a character is a good test of dramatic quality.

Professor Gilbert Murray, when he made his poetic translation of this drama,[1] brought to his work, not only a sense of its grandeur as literature, but also delicate perception of the fascinating subtleties which it would present in acting. His preface to his translation reveals that second preoccupation, even more clearly suggested in his care to insert stage directions throughout the text. By these media, more than by his turn of phrase at certain lines, he develops a novel interpretation of the character of Clytemnestra, "as being really 'possessed' by the Daemon of the House when she commits her crime." [2]

The passage on which his theory is based belongs to the *kommos*, the lyric antiphonal between Clytemnestra and the Chorus: [3]

[1] Gilbert Murray, *The Agamemnon of Aeschylus*, translated into English Rhyming Verse with Explanatory Notes, Oxford, 1920.

[2] G. Murray, *op. cit.*, Pref., pp. xii–xiii.

[3] *Ag.* 1497–1504. The text which I have used in this study is the recension of A. Sidgwick, Oxford, 1902.

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αὐχεῖς εἶναι τόδε τοὔργον ἐμόν·
μηδ' ἐπιλεχθῇς
Ἀγαμεμνονίαν εἶναι μ' ἄλοχον.
(1) φανταζόμενος δὲ γυναικὶ νεκροῦ
τοῦδ' ὁ παλαιὸς δριμὺς ἀλάστωρ
Ἀτρέως χαλεποῦ θοινατῆρος
τόνδ' ἀπέτισεν,
τέλεον νεαροῖς ἐπιθύσας.

These words he takes as "not empty metaphor." He adds: "A careful study of the scene after the murder will show that she appears first 'possessed' and almost insane with triumph. . . . Then gradually the unnatural force dies out from her. The deed that was first an ecstasy of delight becomes an 'affliction.' . . . The strength that defied the world flags and changes into a longing for peace."[4] He cites two other passages in support of his view. These I set in juxtaposition to his first citation:[5]

ἐγὼ δ' οὖν
ἐθέλω δαίμονι τῷ Πλεισθενιδῶν
ὅρκους θεμένη τάδε μὲν στέργειν,
δύστληταά περ ὄνθ'· ὃ δὲ λοιπόν, ἰόντ'
ἐκ τῶνδε δόμων ἄλλην γενεὰν
(2) τρίβειν θανάτοις αὐθένταισι·
κτεάνων τε μέρος
βαιὸν ἐχούσῃ πᾶν ἀπόχρη μοι
μανίας μελάθρωι
ἀλληλοφόνους ἀφελούσῃ.
μηδαμῶς, ὦ φίλτατ' ἀνδρῶν, ἄλλα δράσωμεν κακά.
ἀλλὰ καὶ τάδ' ἐξαμῆσαι πολλὰ δύστηνον θέρος·
πημονῆς δ' ἅλις γ' ὑπάρχει· μηδὲν αἱματώμεθα.
(3) στεῖχε καὶ σὺ χοὶ γέροντες πρὸς δόμους πεπρωμένους,
πρὶν παθεῖν ἔρξαντες· ἀρκεῖν χρὴν τάδ' ὡς ἐπράξαμεν.
εἰ δέ τοι μόχθων γένοιτο τῶνδ' ἅλις, δεχοίμεθ' ἄν,
δαίμονος χηλῇ βαρείᾳ δυστυχῶς πεπληγμένοι.
ὧδ' ἔχει λόγος γυναικός, εἴ τις ἀξιοῖ μαθεῖν.

[4] G. Murray, *ibid.*
[5] *Ag.* 1568–1576 and 1654–1661.

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I think it could be argued that Professor Murray's enthusiasm for his novel idea[6] colors his translation of the three passages. That were to say that he interprets the Greek in terms of his theory—which is inevitable. So fine a translation must come from an ardor of re-creation of the characters. And, in any case, it was from the Greek that he first "caught" his theory. To scrutinize these passages in detail, comparing the English with the Greek, would not advance the argument beyond the primary question, one of subjective "feeling": whether a literal meaning should be assigned to the metaphor of lines 1500–1504, φανταζόμενος κτλ.[7] The debate must be a skiamachy.

My dissent—and it is the response of admiration for the scholarship and literary achievement, critical and creative, of Professor Murray—is on aesthetic grounds. I feel that the theory, by postulating two "possessed" women, destroys the artistry of the incomparable scene between Clytemnestra and Cassandra. The madness of "possession" could not be more poignantly depicted than in the Cassandra of the drama. And—a second objection, on the same grounds—the exhaustion which Professor Murray discerns in Clytemnestra after her exaltation by "possession" is a condition very similar to that of Orestes after his murderous deed. I notice the similarity throughout Professor Murray's interpretation, especially as shown in his stage directions for the action of Clytemnestra. He makes her early in the play brace herself by her "agony

[6] There is a hint of this idea of Clytemnestra's "possession" in G. C. W. Warr, *The Oresteia of Aeschylus* (London and New York, 1900), p. xxxvii: "His" (Aeschylus') "ethical standard . . . rested securely on a pure Hellenic ideal of *Sôphrosune*, the virtue which is the outcome of intellectual discipline and habitual self-command. Its opposite is, in men, that rapacious selfishness which he repeatedly portrays in vivid imagery, throwing light into the inmost depth of the corrupt soul. In women, it is the morbid desire, or insane impulse (*erôs aperôtos*), which he recalls in the legendary women who slew husband, father, or child, and depicts at full in Clytemnestra." However, in further discussion of her character, he does not stress or develop an idea of her insanity.

[7] G. Murray, *ibid.* p. xiii. The passage is quoted in full above, paradigm (1).

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of prayer" to her purpose,[8] just as Orestes must nerve himself to his vengeance. Later, immediately before her first speech, he has this rubric:[9] "She has finished her prayer and sacrifice, and is now wrought up to face the meeting with her husband." Again, when she greets Agamemnon:[10] "She controls her suspense with difficulty, but gradually gains courage as she proceeds." When the *eccyclema* shows her over her dead victims, the direction is:[11] "She speaks in wild triumph." For me, it detracts from the trilogy of the Atreid House to have this sameness of emotional reaction in two of the plays belonging to the larger unity. If it were to be argued that in this repetition one should see two instances of haunting by the *Daimon* of the race, it must be remembered that Orestes is authentically of the Atreid blood, Clytemnestra is not. As his father's child, he might be stained by inheritance with θανάτοις αὐθένταισι,[12] the μανία ἀλληλοφόνος[13] of the family. Indeed, he owes his final acquittal to the dictum of an uncompromising patriarchate, expressed by Apollo and cited by Athena in support of her deciding vote: that he is in no wise related to his mother.[14] Two "possessed" women in the first drama of the trilogy, two Oresteses in the triple unity—I think that to play the *Oresteia* thus were to flaw it.

The interpretation which I submit of the character of Clytemnestra is based on two traits which I find emphasized by the dramatist.

1. γυναικὸς ἀνδρόβουλον ἐλπίζον κέαρ.[15] This characterization by

[8] *Op. cit.* p. 3. In the Preface (pp. xii–xiii), Professor Murray says: "The agony of silent prayer in which, if my conception is right, we first see her, helps to interpret her speeches when they come. . . . She dare not speak sincerely or show her real feelings until Agamemnon is dead; and then she is practically a mad woman."

[9] *Ib.* p. 11.

[10] *Ib.* p. 36.

[11] *Ib.* p. 62.

[12] *Ag.* 1573.

[13] *Ag.* 1575–1576.

[14] *Eum.* 658–666 and 734–741.

[15] *Ag.* 11.

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the prologizing Watchman, at heart unfriendly to her, although appointed by her to his duty of watching every night on the palace roof for the beacon betokening the capture of Troy, is a *leitmotiv*. Hence the drama springs, the action of an ambitious, masterful woman, affronted by her husband, (1) as mother, in the sacrifice of Iphigenia, and (2) as wife, in the necessity of welcoming a paramour, Cassandra. In a more obscure psychology also it springs hence, being the outcome of a long-standing antagonism between the Queen and her husband's subjects.

A wind of grim comedy blows through the *Agamemnon*, sometimes relieving, more often intensifying, the tragedy.[16] Through the semi-comic Watchman and through the chorus of Elders, members of the governing council of state, the audience is aware of national hostility to Clytemnestra, a feeling rooted in suspicion. There is tragic humor in the fact that the Elders fail entirely to read the woman whom the Watchman has accurately characterized. Commensurately with the gathering tragedy, the contrast is heightened between the masterful woman—capable of executing an appalling crime and thereafter of forcing on the state acceptance of her rule, jointly with her accomplice—and the weak old men, war-exempt ten years before, who regard her patronizingly as a woman. The dramatist wishes us to miss no shade of that contrast. The initial dialogue between Queen and Council,[17] the wrangle concerning the credibility of the beacon, is searchingly ironic in this strain. The Elders tell her that, in the male's absence, the splendor of the throne may be revered in the wife. Clytemnestra, although she has burst out with *παιδὸς νέας ὡς κάρτ' ἐμωμήσω φρένας*, in guileful politeness stresses her sex-inferiority.[18] The Coryphaeus in reply compliments her on her masculine acumen. In the *stasimon* [19] which follows

[16] Shakespeare's aestheticism chooses a similar device.

[17] *Ag.* 258–354.

[18] With line 348 of this context cf. her almost "last word," 1661.

[19] *Ag.* Stas. I, 355–487.

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the scene, the Chorus swing through various emotions to that of distrust of the governing and reasoning powers of a woman. When the Herald arrives with exact tidings of the fall of Troy, the Elders do not arrange for the Queen to hear the tale until they have sifted it. They had considered her volatile, womanish in her quickness to interpret the beacon as sure signal of victory.[20] Now if they must acknowledge themselves wrong in their conservative slowness of judgment, they intend not to be hasty with the confession. *νικώμενος λόγοισιν οὐκ ἀναίνομαι*:[21] that is handsome, but deferred. They add: "Clytemnestra and the household ought to hear, and be enriched with me by such news." Her response to the information is, indeed, the woman's *I told you so*.[22] I read her throughout this first part of the play as schooling herself to be all woman. She formulates, for the Herald to convey, a message of deadly suavity to Agamemnon, stressing her wifeliness.[23] When she appears in pomp to welcome the King, she excuses her masculine forwardness of speech by the necessities of his ten years' absence which have compelled her to some of man's ways.[24] She rings the changes on the note of womanliness. The conqueror, acknowledging her compliments, points out that her remarks have been long and questions their taste.[25] Although he handsomely calls her guardian of his halls,[26] he bids her not, "in woman's wise," coddle him with barbaric luxury.[27] In the polite dialogue which follows, where she is forcing him to accept her ceremonial for his

[20] *Ag.* 483–487; cf. 590–594.

[21] *Ag.* 583.

[22] *Ag.* 587 ff.

[23] *Ag.* 600–612. Lines 613–614 are assigned in Sidgwick's text to Clytemnestra, concluding this speech with insincere apology for a gentlewoman's boastfulness. Professor Smyth follows the *codd.* in assigning them to the Herald. See H. Weir Smyth, *Aeschylus*, 2 vols., Loeb Class. Lib., London and N. Y., 1922–1926.

[24] *Ag.* 855–913.

[25] *Ag.* 914–917.

[26] *Ag.* 914.

[27] *Ag.* 918–922.

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entrance to the house, and to his doom, he contrives to indicate that she is not being womanly.[28] Her speech after her murderous act, when the *eccyclema* reveals her over the dead bodies, is vindictive, venting her long smouldering enmity. Implicitly it acknowledges her supreme isolation. Its tone, which to me is eminently that of sanity, clearly describing the details of the crime, I find, in Professor Murray's rendering of the Greek as well as in the original, a capital argument against his thesis of her insanity.[29] It opens with the statement that she is not ashamed of contradicting all her former protestations, which had been those of expediency, devised to entrap her enemies. The short answer of the horrified chorus shows their marvel at her unwomanliness.[30] To which she retorts: *πειρᾶσθέ μου γυναικὸς ὡς ἀφράσμονος*,[31] words which introduce her bald, grim indifference to the fact, starkly expressed: her murder of her husband, a just deed.

She rests her defence on the outrage to her maternal feelings in the sacrifice of Iphigenia by Agamemnon. Her secondary plea of self-justification cites his conjugal infidelity. The coming of Cassandra might well give new impetus to the wife's long-cherished resentment. If her murderous wrath were wavering, if the return of her husband after ten years might perhaps awaken an old tenderness, this presence would reanimate her purpose. Apart from its contribution to Clytemnestra's "case," the introduction of the Trojan princess serves as symbol of the sacker's conquering prowess and also—here with more intimate dramatic motive—to enlist, by the pity of her murder along with Agamemnon, some compassion for him, who is nowhere in literature a "sympathetic" person. The passage of her prophesying is the inimitable lyric centre

[28] *Ag.* 940.

[29] *Ag.* 1372–1398. To this speech Professor Murray prefixes, as stage direction: "There is blood on Clytemnestra's brow, and she speaks in wild triumph" (p. 62).

[30] *Ag.* 1399–1400. In Cassandra's vision, the monstrous fact is stressed of *a woman's slaying a man*: *Ag.* 1231 ff.

[31] *Ag.* 1401.

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of the play, making real the horror that haunts the Atreid House, connecting the sinister past with the dreadful future, immediate and more remote.[32] Cassandra in her vision sees her own death caused by Clytemnestra's jealousy of the paramour.[33] Agamemnon, putting foot to the purple pathway spread by his Queen, had bidden her welcome with gentleness the woman slave, allotted him by the army [34]—surely an odd means of endearing himself after long absence! Her answer, dire in hidden significance, may spring spontaneously to this sense of insult: *ἔστιν θάλασσα, τίς δέ νιν καταβήσει*[35]; immediately after the choric boding-song,[36] she endeavors to force Cassandra to dismount from the chariot and enter the house. The silence of the enslaved princess might reasonably affront her. The scene between the prophetess and the pitying, helpless, bewildered chorus—the world's masterpiece of horror delicately conveyed and sustained—concludes with her passing, certain in foreknowledge of the whole doom, to her death within the palace. After the double murder, Clytemnestra, exultant as she stands over the bodies, refers in angry scorn to the adulterous bond between the two,[37] thus justly punished,[38] further characterizing Agamemnon as "darling of every Chryseis at Ilium." [39] By the same token, that of her jealousy as wife, she justifies her own marital sin.[40] She declares that she struck Agamemnon thrice [41]—blows dealt perhaps as Cassandra's rival, Aegisthus' paramour, and Iphigenia's mother!

A maternally solicitous Clytemnestra? The plea in her self-justification which the Elders cannot parry is that Aga-

[32] *Ag.* 1072–1330.
[33] *Ag.* 1260–1263.
[34] *Ag.* 950–957.
[35] *Ag.* 958.
[36] *Ag.* Stas. III, 975–1034.
[37] *Ag.* 1438, 1441–1442, 1446.
[38] *Ag.* 1443.
[39] *Ag.* 1439.
[40] *Ag.* 1447.
[41] *Ag.* 1384–1387.

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memnon, slayer of Iphigenia, deserved death. The suggestion of their King's guilt in this respect sounded as an early *leitmotiv* in their opening song.[42] In that first hint they passed from joy at the thought of the fall of Troy to apprehension because of the sacrifice which, responsive to Calchas' prophetic art, loosed the Achaean ships at Aulis. The strain is sustained through a memorable passage of this same magnificent *parodos*, where in pathetic detail, and with revulsion on the part of the chorus who narrate it, the sacrifice is described.[43] Sinister words of specific omen follow that first cryptic reference to the daughter-victim:

μίμνει γάρ φοβερὰ παλίνορτος
οἰκονόμος δολία μνάμων μῆνις τεκνόποινος.[44]

What, other than this, is the theme of this drama? Clytemestra herself, perfect in her role of duplicity, makes no reference, before the murder, to her feelings on this score. But she speaks with maternal solicitude of Orestes. This is in the scene of her welcome to her husband, grimly and cleverly pervaded by her irony.[45] Her broad allusion to the numerous reports that have come, during her lord's absence, of his death —so many that he would have been another Geryon clamoring for triple burial, quite a joke from her to him!—she smooths with the assurance that she had to be cut down from a wife's noose of despair as often as the tidings came. And then she is all woman in her description of her concern for little Orestes, which has despatched him to the care of Phocian Strophios, lest, if Agamemnon were to fall before Troy, democratic revolution in the state destroy the heir.[46] Aeschylus' device for making Orestes thus an exile before Agamemnon's murder is

[42] *Ag.* 151–159.

[43] *Ag.* 205–249. Cf. 799–804, where the chorus express similar disapproval. This meaning depends on Ahrens' emendation of 803. Professor Smyth accepts this emendation (Loeb Class. Lib., Text, cited above).

[44] *Ag.* 154–155. Cf. 151–153 of same context, where the word *δεισήνορα* speaks for the Elders' idea of the duty of woman, submissive to man.

[45] *Ag.* 855 ff.

[46] *Ag.* 879–886.

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simple and natural. Also it serves to enhance the complexity of his heroine's character. Is this maternal affection true or false? The question is bound with another, concerning the reality of her resentment for Iphigenia's death. I see in this reference to Orestes a flash of light on the womanliness actually in her. Rather naively, she says there is no guile in this excuse. Indeed, the crime of the son's matricide will lose all but its ritual horror unless the audience can have felt something of the mother in Clytemnestra.[47]

After the murder, Clytemnestra is specific in declaring her motives. She speaks of the deed as long contemplated because of an old grudge.[48] There is here much of the long smouldering revolt of her pride and intellect against her inferior position as woman. Granted all the direct motives to the crime, as wife and mother and adulteress too—that last kept by the poet dimly in the background of his tapestry—the people's distrust of her has had its moulding influence on her character. The flames released by vent of these various emotions tower in the *kommos*. No demoniac "possession" is required to explain her passionate words here. She is bent on triumphing over these old men, but also she divines in them, as councillors of the Argive state, juridical powers, especially in the matter of religion. Her passion of exultation beats down theirs of grief and horror, but also it is supremely her desire that they shall believe—and I think this is her genuine belief, although her motives have been mixed—that she has done a righteous deed. Commentators in general, I think, miss this, an important point in the scene. She is very practically concerned with preventing this "court" from putting her under religious ban, which would excommunicate her from the sacrifices and libations of the state, making the position of ruler impossible. She is therefore bent on proving herself by logic ritually guiltless. The interpretation offers a

[47] Electra is not even named in the *Agamemnon*.

[48] *Ag.* 1377–1378. Aegisthus also has an old grudge, an inherited blood feud against Agamemnon. Possibly Clytemnestra refers also to this here, but I think not. Aegisthus speaks for himself on his grievance, 1577–1611.

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good practical reason for her metaphor identifying herself as an incarnation of the *Daimon* of the House,[49] the lines which are keystone for Professor Murray's theory. The Chorus in their reply [50] to that asseveration admit that the *Daimon* may have abetted her, although they cannot hold her guiltless. The ensuing drama of the trilogy, the *Choephoroe,* turns essentially on this idea of a religious miasma on the Argive palace. The Chorus in the concluding portion of the *Agamemnon* do actually in their petulant address to Aegisthus—who ought to have done the deed if it had to be done—condemn the Queen, although feebly and in form of a question, as χώρας μίασμα καὶ θεῶν ἐγχωρίων, and dare to prophesy on the guilty pair vengeance from Orestes.[51] These hesitating suggestions are scarcely a judicial pronouncement, and therefore, technically, the Queen at the end of this drama has won her case. She is not an exile from Argos. But—a clue in the major unity of the trilogy—we are made to understand that she is not only ethically, but ritually, guilty. The *Daimon* of the House has not been "laid," as Clytemnestra hopes.[52] Perhaps he will guide Orestes back.[53]

It will be helpful to trace the argument, which runs with the clarity of Greek logic through the whole scene where Clytemnestra makes her triumph song a rhapsody of self-defence: [54]

Introduction to *kommos* (1406–1447)

Ch. Horror! Woman, what have you done? You are accursed and should be exiled.

Cl. Nay, he who slew my child was worthy of curse and exile. Might will prove which shall prevail, you or I. If I, you shall learn prudence.

[49] *Ag.* 1497–1504, quoted above, paradigm (1).

[50] *Ag.* 1507–1508.

[51] *Ag.* 1643–1648.

[52] *Ag.* 1659–1660.

[53] *Ag.* 1667.

[54] *Ag.* 1406–1576. In the introductory portion, Clytemnestra keeps to the metre of dialogue; in the *kommos* proper, she becomes lyric.

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Ch. You are mad with crime. You shall one day pay the penalty.

Cl. I am safe under Aegisthus' protection. Agamemnon and his Trojan paramour are dead.

Kommos (1448–1576)

Ch. Alas, alas! Dead by a woman! Fateful Helen has destroyed many lives.

Cl. Pray not for death. Cast not blame on Helen.

Ch. *Daimon*, who fallest on our House through women!

Cl. You are right in holding the *Daimon* of this accursed race responsible. The man deserved to die, polluted with generations of crime.

Ch. Alas! you name the dire *Daimon* of this House. What comes to mortals that Zeus does not predestinate? Alas, my King!

Cl. Call not the deed mine or me Agamemnon's wife! I but personify the *Daimon* of the House of Atreus.

Ch. How will you prove that you are not guilty?

Cl. He slew Iphigenia.

Ch. I am at a loss. Can you bury him?

Cl. Yes. I slew and I will bury. And Iphigenia shall greet her father at the swift river of death.

Ch. I am at a loss. But Zeus' law abides that the doer shall suffer. Who shall thrust the brood of curses from the House? The race is glued to ruin.

Cl. I will call a truce with the *Daimon* of the House. Let him depart to some other house! A mere livelihood will suffice me. I have purified this House.

Word for word, matching their religious interpretations with hers, she answers the Elders. I think in that final humble expression of desire for a mere competency she replies to that accusation of ambition, implicit in their arraignment,[55] the trait in her which the Watchman touched in his ἐλπίζον (11). While she has declared herself bent on ruling, she wishes, I think, to set beside this idea the fact that wealth and power have not in themselves been her objective.

The bare abstract of the course of Clytemnestra's argument with the Chorus shows how firmly she bases her self-justification on the righteousness of a mother's vengeance. Her

[55] Note especially line 1426.

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references to Iphigenia in this scene are poignant. In her first speech there is such allusion, clear, but not explicit.[56] The first direct instance is very touching:

> ἔθυσεν αὐτοῦ παῖδα, φιλτάτην ἐμοὶ
> ὠδῖν', ἐπῳδὸν Θρῃκίων ἀημάτων.[57]

There is similar effect in one that occurs in a lyric strain:

> ἀλλ' ἐμὸν ἐκ τοῦδ' ἔρνος ἀερθέν,
> τὴν πολυκλαύτην Ἰφιγενείαν.[58]

Her resentment flares savagely in the cry that Iphigenia shall, daughter-wise, greet her father in the world below with an embrace and kiss.[59] She dares even to protest her sure trust in Aegisthus by an oath in the name of the vengeance accomplished for her daughter and by Ate and Erinys.[60]

Most amazing is her coupling with this sanction her admission of the relation between Aegisthus and herself! The words which immediately follow apparently justify that relation by her husband's conjugal infidelity.[61] At the climax of the play, when she stood over the dead bodies, no Aegisthus appeared. Nor has his name been spoken until now. When he makes his entrance,[62] at the very end of the play, he is a weakling, merely the Queen's accessory. The final word of all is hers, quietly stating their joint rule over the House.[63] The comic effect of his tyrannical blustering at the feeble Elders lightens the tragic tension; also it shows as pre-eminent in the state γυναικὸς ἀνδρόβουλον ἐλπίζον κέαρ. Very fittingly the Elders call him *woman*[64] and ask him why he left the murder to the lady

[56] *Ag.* 1372–1398.

[57] *Ag.* 1417–1418.

[58] *Ag.* 1525–1526. It may be noted here that Professor Murray takes 1504 also as an allusion to Iphigenia. Many commentators refer this to the murdered children of Thyestes.

[59] *Ag.* 1555–1559.

[60] *Ag.* 1432–1436.

[61] *Ag.* 1438–1447.

[62] *Ag.* 1577.

[63] *Ag.* 1673.

[64] *Ag.* 1625. Cf. the taunt of 1671.

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to perform.[65] What a manly answer he has!—"To make the plot was plainly woman's part."[66] The reticence which, save for veiled hints, and those only of a suspicious distrust of the Queen,[67] has kept the fact of her adultery in the background contributes much to the strength of the play, as well as to the subtlety of her portrayal. She has shown an awareness of the gossip, daring even to whet her irony on a reference to a question of her marital honor: "I know no more of illicit joys than of the dippings of the blade"[68]—*in blood,* is her inner meaning. The fact is first explicit, but then under a metaphor, in Cassandra's vision of the tragedy.[69] The words in which it is candidly stated are Clytemnestra's own, after the murder, sanctioning it in Iphigenia's name by the propriety of her whole resentment against Agamemnon, as mother and wife.[70] Her affectionate address to Aegisthus a little later, *ὦ φίλτατ' ἀνδρῶν,*[71] is not beyond dignity. Whether her passion for him has been a motive to crime, or chiefly an act of retaliation—as if she had deliberately chosen the kinsman blood-enemy as instrument of the various kinds of hatred that burn in her against Agamemnon—she commands the situation. It may be that *ἐλπίζον* of the characterization by the Watchman was intended to hint at the affair with Aegisthus. Thus the peruser of her character might see her crime as a device to realize an ambition coupled with sensual desire.

How much she is erotic and ambitious, how much—as she would persuade her audience—the righteous avenger of Iphigenia, such is the problem that teases her interpreters. The

[65] *Ag.* 1633–1645.

[66] *Ag.* 1636. Possibly an echo of the Homeric tradition, which makes Clytemnestra the accomplice. Cf. *Od.* iv, 90–92, particularly the last line, *δόλῳ οὐλομένης ἀλόχοιο.* Perhaps Aegisthus craftily planned to exempt himself and Clytemnestra from penalty by making her the murderess, with the idea that Orestes would not kill his mother.

[67] *Ag.* 36–39; cf. 18–19; 544–550; 807–809.

[68] *Ag.* 611–612. Lines 858–865 show further her awareness of gossip.

[69] *Ag.* 1258–1259.

[70] *Ag.* 1431–1447.

[71] *Ag.* 1654.

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task before her after the murder, to force the state to accept the joint rule of herself and Aegisthus, might demand new craft of the expediency which earlier, as she herself acknowledged,[72] she had not been ashamed to practice. In other words, her whole self-defence may have been specious. The prologist's words suggest the reasonable clue of mixed motives. ἐλπίζον, added to ἀνδρόβουλον, may characterize her with ambition of sinister import, but it must be remembered that a *woman's heart* is being characterized. Indeed, no human being was ever simple. Aeschylus presents a superb woman, complex in emotions, direct in action. Set between her weak lover and the Elders, she is a gorgeous figure, dauntless, ominous: ὧδε γὰρ κρατεῖ.[73]

Yet in her triumph she is on the sheer brink of ruin, herself aware, I think, that she next will be trampled by the hoof of the *Daimon* of the House[74] into which she has married. During the progress of the play, the Elders' weakness has been emphasized commensurately with the revelation of the woman's strength. That weakness, poignant in the scene with Cassandra,[75] pitiable when Agamemnon calls for help from within, dignified by the sanctions of age and religion in the *kommos*, comic in the wrangle with Aegisthus, now at the end of the play becomes ominous of import to the *hubris* of the tyrants who have humiliated age and worth.[76] Some of Clytemnestra's long resentment at the Elders' oppressive prestige in the old time may sound in the conclusion of her prayer for peace: ὧδ' ἔχει λόγος γυναικός, εἴ τις ἀξιοῖ μαθεῖν,[77] but I think the words more truly show that she is a woman, and in dread of the future.

[72] *Ag.* 1372–1376.

[73] The characterization of the Watchman is introduced thus, *Ag.* 10–11.

[74] *Ag.* 1659–1660.

[75] *Ag.* 1072–1330. The Elders' helplessness in this scene, where their pity is deeply touched, offers a clever rationalizing of the curse that is on Cassandra: that her prophecies shall never be taken seriously.

[76] The word ὑβρίζειν is used by the Chorus of Aegisthus, *Ag.* 1612.

[77] *Ag.* 1654–1661. The line quoted above is the last.

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2. *The Tyndarid.* Perhaps the Homeric "Treasure House" was more than generally suggestive to Aeschylus in conceiving Clytemnestra as sharing the balefulness of her sister Helen.[78] There is a specific hint in the apocalyptic book of the *Odyssey*,[79] lines spoken by the Wanderer to the shade of Agamemnon in the lower world, citing, as examples of the destructive hatred of Zeus manifest toward the Atreid race through women's contrivance, the death of the many for Helen's sake and of Agamemnon by Clytemnestra's plot.[80] This idea of Clytemnestra as Tyndarid is the second of the two traits which I find emphasized in the *Agamemnon.*

At our first sight of the Queen, silently kindling the sacrificial fires during the *parodos*, the Chorus address her as "Tyndareus' daughter." [81] Agamemnon's ceremonious greeting on his return names her "Leda's child." [82] Through her scene with him, she is the soft, blandishing woman, true Tyndarid. Her final plea in wheedling him to allow her slaves to spread the royal carpet for the feet of the sacker of Ilium is that of woman's charm to man's strength.[83]

The first chorus identifies in a unity of power the Twain

[78] Helen, by the usual form of the legend, is not actually a Tyndarid, being daughter of Zeus by Leda. I use the word *Tyndarid* as indicative of the ancestral royalty, humanly speaking, which would attach to the two Spartan princesses and, more particularly, as stressing the kinship between Helen and Clytemnestra. Perhaps I should have chosen the matronymic. But in common parlance they must have been "Tyndareus' girls," glamorous and dangerous.

[79] This book (*Od.* XI) seems to have been, in Agamemnon's narrative of his own death (385 ff.), Aeschylus' prime source of suggestion. But the story of Agamemnon's slaying rings through the *Odyssey*. The artistic reason for this, apart from Homer's concern with the *nostoi* of the Achaean heroes, is plain, I think. A contrast is implicit between Clytemnestra and his heroine, Penelope, the "Weaver," the womanly woman. Penelope and Clytemnestra, each, will have an eternal ἀοιδή, the one χαρίεσσα, the other στυγερή (*Od.* XXIV, 196–202). On the Agamemnon story in general, see *Od.* I, 35 ff.; III, 254 ff.; IV, 90–93, 514 ff.; XXIV, 20–22, 196–202.

[80] *Od.* XI, 436–439.

[81] *Ag.* 83–84.

[82] *Ag.* 914.

[83] *Ag.* 943.

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Chieftains of the host.[84] The inheritance of Atreus under two heirs is still one. Matched with the Atreid brothers are Tyndarid sisters, each for her mate a home-destroying, glamorous woman. The identity of interest between Agamemnon and Menelaus is stressed by the Chorus' solicitous inquiry of the Herald concerning the fate of the latter.[85] The report of the mysterious disappearance of his ships introduces into the gala thoughts of victory a sinister note. And so destructive Helen is the theme of the ensuing *stasimon.*[86] Immediately after this song of boding, the other Tyndarid appears to welcome Menelaus' brother, sacker of Troy.[87] In the first *stasimon* the theme, a minor substituted for the opening major of triumph, had been the woeful wooing of Paris, destructive to Troy and to the Argive avengers. This contains an exquisite picture of the forsaken husband.[88] The *stasimon* which I cited first matches it with lines metaphorically descriptive of Helen's baleful glamor. The phrase, δηξίθυμον ἔρωτος ἄνθος,[89] may well symbolize both sisters. It may be added that the idea, also in this chorus, of Helen as the lion's cub,[90] an affectionate plaything at first, later cruelly destructive to those who petted it, is echoed in Cassandra's vision of the lioness [91] (Clytemnestra), monstrously mated with the wolf (Aegisthus). In the *kommos,* where the dirge for the King alternates with his Queen's lyric exultation over his death by her hand, the refrain sounds: ἰὼ ἰὼ παράνους Ἑλένα.[92] Clytemnestra replies:

[84] *Ag.* 40–44; 108–110; cf. 1469. The Chorus greet Agamemnon as "Atreus' child" (784).

[85] *Ag.* 617 ff.

[86] *Ag.* Stas. II, 681 ff.

[87] *Ag.* 855 ff.

[88] *Ag.* Stas. I, 355 ff. Note especially 410 ff.

[89] *Ag.* 737–749. Note especially 743.

[90] *Ag.* 717–726.

[91] *Ag.* 1258–1259.

[92] *Ag.* 1455–1461. For my suggested emendation of 1459, which would interpret the corrupt lines, 1458–1461, with suitable reference to Helen, see *A.J.P.* XLV, 72. It seems reasonable to repeat this refrain after 1474. See my study of the arrangement of this *kommos, ib.* 70–71. Professor Smyth repeats the refrain in his text.

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"Blame not Helen as man-destroyer." [93] The Chorus, catching the suggestion, call vaguely on the *Daimon* of the double-chieftained House of the Tantalids. The thought of the baleful sisters, destructive to the Atreid brothers, flares in the next lines.[94] Clytemnestra's response, identifying herself with this *Daimon*—Professor Murray's cornerstone citation—well befits Helen's sister, instrument of destiny, guiltless, like Helen, of sin in the woe that she inflicts. She, incarnating μῆνις, has fulfilled the prophecy of Calchas.[95] Agamemnon, like Menelaus, deserves the epithet which Cassandra's vision gave, δύσδαμαρ.[96] And there is more. The lover of each of those sisters, fickle in wedlock, is caught in the toils, a sufferer as truly as the wedded husband. Aegisthus is under doom of the Tyndarid glamor.

The drama is by title concerned with the fate of Agamemnon, but his murderess usurps the place of protagonist. May she not hold it in strict conformity to the Aristotelian dictum for measuring the hero of a tragedy? There are elements of nobility sufficient to engage sympathy, of weakness to account for her undoing. The net of misfortune which ultimately destroys her as well as Agamemnon was spun by destiny not more in making him Atreus' son than her Leda's daughter. Her character gains, as an actor would view his task, in effect if the interpretation adds to the Watchman's characterization the idea of the seductive Tyndarid.

It seems odd that Aristotle does not in his *Poetics* fully discuss this drama which has preëminently held the imagination of perceptive readers. He might retort that the play, an integral part of a trilogy, presents a complex problem of unity. It must be appraised both as single and subordinated unity. In his total accomplishment Aeschylus shows amazing skill in directing sympathy, first toward and then away from Clytemnestra. Cassandra wins for Agamemnon some pity. But

[93] *Ag.* 1464–1467.
[94] *Ag.* 1468–1471.
[95] *Ag.* 154–155.
[96] *Ag.* 1319.

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the gorgeousness of his murderess' exultation swings us back to admiration for her. Her union at the end of the play with the despicable Aegisthus sets the stage for the next drama of the triple strand, in which she must be victim. And finally her bloodthirsty ghost will revolt our hearts to pity for the son whom a Divine Voice seemed to compel to kill his mother.

My reading would make this character at once more simple and more subtle than Professor Murray's interpretation allows. An instrument of fate, subject, as all human beings are, to mixed motives and emotions; a powerful intellect and firm will, hampered by woman's flesh and rebellious to the inhibitions of the "sheltered" life; a self-conscious identification of her purpose with that of a supernatural Avenger that haunts the crime-infected House into which she has married; a seductive personality, akin to that of the destructive, fickle, incomparable Helen—an actor would require for the part the most subtle resources of his art.

I submit that, if "possessed" at all, this is in no more literal sense than can be predicated of Helen,[97] eternally excused in Greek literature as blameless. I understand the poet as showing the accomplishment of destiny by the natural actions of this human character in the grip of circumstance.

[97] It is tempting to point out παράνους as epithet of Helen in the refrain of the *kommos* cited above (1455). The word, however, is Hermann's emendation for παρανόμους of the *codd.* Although the emendation is quite generally accepted, I am reluctant to base an argument on it.

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XI.—*Scheria and the Phaeacians*

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The Greek writers of the historical age—even to the historians[1] and geographers[2]—experienced no difficulty in accepting as genuine the tradition that made the island Corcyra the land of the Homeric Phaeacians, Scheria. And the poet Apollonius Rhodius records the myth, wherein Alcinous, lord of Corcyra and of the Phaeacians, offers sanctuary to the harassed Colchians,[3] with the same seriousness with which he shows how the long curved form of the island conceals the sickle that mutilated Uranus or, as some would have it, the reaping hook of Demeter.[4] Topographical considerations were all on the side of both legends. Did not one have the "stone ship" of the Phaeacians to point to—the oddly shaped islet lying hard by the mouth of the Hyllaic Harbor? There was also the late legend which quite disregarded Homer and made the nymph Corcyra the ancestress of the Phaeacian stock.[5] Nevertheless, one feels that a shade of doubt must at times have entered the more thoughtful-minded inhabitants of the Ionian Islands as they were daily confronted by visible features which presented the strange anomaly of the Phaeacians, the most remote and isolated of men as Homer designates them, dwelling virtually within sight of the Ithacans.[6]

[1] Thuc. I, 25, 4; cf. III, 70.

[2] Strabo, VI, p. 269; cf. VII, p. 329. The stellate device found on Corcyrean staters, regarded by Eckhel as a symbol of the gardens of Alcinous, is otherwise explained by Head, *Hist. Numorum* (1911), p. 325.

[3] IV, 993 ff. Cf. Apollod. *Bibl.* I, 9, 25. The story also occurs in Hyginus, *Fab.* 23.

[4] IV, 982 ff. A different account of the final disposing of the sickle is given by Pausanias (VII, 23, 4).

[5] See Diod. Sic. IV, 72.

[6] Ithaca was undoubtedly one or another of the islands Thiaki (the traditional view, supported at length most recently by Sir Rennell Rodd, *Homer's Ithaca*, 1927), Leucas (see W. Dörpfeld, *Alt-Ithaka, Ein Beitrag zur Homer-Frage*, 1927), or Cephalonia (see A. D. Fraser, *Class. Phil.* XXIII (1928), 213–238).

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I am not sure that the Scheria-Corcyra equation, as it is fashionable to put it nowadays, was ever openly challenged till about a century ago. In 1837, a young Oxonian, Edward Giffard,[7] who had made extensive travels in Greece and the islands, took occasion to point out certain more or less obvious difficulties that lie in the way of the acceptance of the ancient tradition. He is somewhat perplexed, *e.g.*, by the occurrence of rival "ships of Odysseus," one on the east and another on the north of the island. And he finds it difficult to understand how Athena, in her flight from Scheria to Athens, should have passed over Marathon.[8] But his tone is decidedly moderate, not to say timid. For geographical tradition was more sacred then than now. Had he dared, he might have gone on to assert that there is at least a possibility that the whole story of the association of Scheria with Corcyra may be founded upon the single phenomenon of these "ships" of stone.

The growth of higher criticism in the latter part of the nineteenth century and the development of antiquarianism into the reasonably exact science of archaeology in the twentieth have wrought many changes in our understanding of the world of Homer. But Scheria and the Phaeacians remain a great deal of a puzzle. A fair number of scholars abide by the traditional faith, and among them are names of high authority, such as the Homeric critic, A. Shewan,[9] the geographer, V. Bérard,[10] and the archaeologist, W. Dörpfeld.[11] Others, more imbued with agnosticism or perhaps with mental inertia, are willing to follow Welcker [12] and Andrew Lang in relegating

[7] E. Giffard, *The Ionian Islands, Athens, and the Morea* (1837), pp. 59–65. The rival "ships" are noted by D. T. Ansted, *The Ionian Islands in the Year 1863*, pp. 43–44.

[8] *Od.* VII, 78–81.

[9] His views are most recently set forth in *Class. Jour.* XXIII (1928), 615 ff. Cf. his articles in *Class. Phil.* XIII (1918), 321 ff., and XIV (1919), 97 ff.; *Class. Quart.* XIII, 8 ff.

[10] V. Bérard, *Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssée*[1] (1902–3), I, pp. 574 ff.

[11] W. Dörpfeld, *Ath. Mitt.* XXXIX, 175 f.; *Alt-Ithaka* (1927), II, Tafel 2, which is reproduced in *Art and Arch.* XXVII (1929), facing p. 51.

[12] See *Rh. Mus.* I (1842), 20 ff.

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Scheria and its inhabitants to the realm of the imagination. The remainder have sought and do seek the land of the Phaeacians here and there among the islands and promontories of the Mediterranean and even beyond.

Champault [13] has identified Scheria with Ischia on the Bay of Naples. A. Herrmann [14] finds it on the coast of Tunisia. Frost [15] and Leaf [16] regarded the island in question as a mirror of the glories of Minoan Crete. Donnelly [17] was the first, I think, to suggest that Scheria was found somewhere on the fabled Atlantis. R. Henning,[18] in a carefully reasoned brief, argues that the Phaeacians must have been the earliest inhabitants of Tartessos beyond the Strait of Gibraltar—a view which is further elaborated by E. Björkman.[19] D'Arcy Thompson [20] appears to find the location of Scheria somewhere in the southwest of the Mediterranean. Still others, of more robust fancy, place the island on various shores of the eastern Atlantic or even in the Arabian Sea.[21]

Of these theories, two at least are based on definite considerations of the Homeric text. There is much to be said in support of the view that would align Scheria with ancient Crete; but more than one of the points involved, such as the Phaeacians' contempt for archery [22] in face of the Cretans' well-known penchant for the sport, present difficulties that seem insuperable in the end.[23] Of the Scheria-Tartessos equation it may be said that the cumulative evidence in its favor

[13] P. Champault, *Phéniciens et Grecs en Italie d'après l'Odyssée* (1906).

[14] *Zeit. f. Erdkunde zu Berlin* (1926), 78 ff.

[15] K. T. Frost in *J.H.S.* XXXIII, 189 ff.

[16] W. Leaf, *Homer and History* (1915), pp. 183 f.

[17] *Atlantis, the Antediluvian World* (1852), p. 298. I have not seen this book; it is quoted by A. Shewan in *Class. Phil.* XIV (1919), 97.

[18] *Von rätselhaften Ländern* (1925); see his essay, "Das Phäakenland Scheria."

[19] *The Search for Atlantis* (1927).

[20] In his presidential address before the Classical Association (*Proc. of the Class. Assoc.* XXVI (1929), 29).

[21] *Phil. Wochenschrift* (1928), 254.

[22] *Od.* VI, 270. Note also their inferiority in boxing, VIII, 246.

[23] The theory is examined and shown to be untenable by A. Shewan in *Class. Phil.* XIV (1919), 101.

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is by no means strong. It is based, in the main, on the remoteness of the site from the world of Homer and on the interpretation of the phenomenon observed in *Od.* v, 451–453, where the river god stays his course and permits the approach of the wearied Odysseus to the mouth of his stream. This is explained, rationalistically, as the turning of the tide of ocean, which is almost lacking within the Mediterranean. The point is shrewdly taken; but it is unsafe to base a theory upon a support of pure guesswork. The apparent staying of the waters may be explained in various ways. Odysseus himself, in his account of his landing, gives the god no credit whatsoever for his preservation.[24]

It may be observed that, in general, Welcker's theory of the fairyland Scheria has not of recent years gained much ground. The excavations conducted on the site of ancient Troy; the discovery of Phoenician script belonging to an age as early as the thirteenth century; the sidelights brought to bear on Achaean history through the reading of Egyptian and Hittite texts; the unearthing of the pre-Greek cultures of continental Greece, the Cyclades, and the island of Crete; the at least partial acceptance of the Catalogue of Ships; the serious studies that have been made of the problem of Ithaca's identification: all these have united to substantiate many features of Homer's narrative which an earlier age regarded as pure fiction.[25]

Certainly the Phaeacians are not to be mentioned in the same breath with such anomalies as the Cyclopes of Odysseus, the Laestrygonians, Scylla and Charybdis; nor do they possess the divine attributes of Aeolus, Circe, or even Calypso, with whom the hero was able to associate on something like an equal footing. The immediate reason for this lies in the dramatic requirements of the story. The poet must needs provide, from whatever source, a proper environment for the narration of the woes and wanderings of Odysseus. His tale

[24] *Od.* VII, 280 ff.

[25] Most of these points are fully discussed in *Camb. Anc. Hist.* II and III, *passim*.

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must be told in a civilized society and in the presence of a sympathetic audience somewhat closer to humanity than Calypso herself. Hence he is ushered altogether unexpectedly into the circle of the Phaeacians and into a city whose culture is revealed as that of the last bloom of the ancient world before it finally withered and gave place to the fairer flowers of Hellenic civilization.

But for all their homeliness, the Phaeacians differ in a measure from the entirely human Achaeans, Danaans, and Argives. Scheria lies remote from men,[26] far off in the sea, and no one mingles with the Phaeacians.[27] Like the distant Ethiopians they are proportionally near to the gods. These appear to the Achaeans in disguise and in dreams; to the Phaeacians they come *in propria persona* and sit at table with them.[28] Their ships, too, are extraordinary. They move with the swiftness of the wind and work automatically, anticipating the intention of the captain.[29] Thus are the Phaeacians and their culture involved in a peculiar air of mystery not unlike that of the lost tribes of the mountain fastnesses so often appearing in the romances of Rider Haggard.

So if we accept as reliable the tradition represented by Eusebius-Diodorus-Eratosthenes that places the fall of Troy at 1184, and assume, with Herodotus, that Homer lived not earlier than the tenth century, we may not be far astray in fashioning our view of the situation somewhat as follows: The Achaeans and Trojans and their respective allies, living as they did so far in the distant past, are clothed by the poet in a halo of reverence and glory. But the Phaeacian culture, relegated to some remote corner of the world, an offshoot seemingly of the fallen civilization of Mycenae and Argos, is revealed in a rather different light. More than one reader of the *Odyssey* has marked the air of slightly amused contempt with which Homer portrays the Phaeacians at the same time

[26] *Od.* VI, 8.

[27] *Od.* VI, 204 f.

[28] *Od.* VII, 203–206.

[29] *Od.* VI, 264 f.; 271 f.; VIII, 557–563.

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that he reveals their everyday life sympathetically and intimately. Is it possible that he is placing before our eyes a people of the long ago whose civilization had somehow persisted down to his own day?[29a] This might readily account for his goodnatured familiarity.

The unsophisticated Telemachus,[30] accustomed as he was to the modest furnishings of the court at Ithaca, was struck with amazement at the florid magnificence of the palace of Menelaus at Sparta. But the household treasures, his host explains, are not of native Helladic manufacture, but were brought by him years before from Cyprus, Phoenicia, Egypt, and other lands which he had visited on his travels.[31] But the glories of Sparta are fairly outdone by the display of luxury seen in the palace of Alcinous; and the much-travelled Odysseus is impressed[32] no less than his inexperienced son is at Sparta. This would in itself suggest a location for the land of the Phaeacians in close proximity to the Orient, and the opinion is strikingly confirmed by the nature of the gift made by the Phaeacian Euryalus to Odysseus. He makes amends for his insulting language by presenting the hero with a sword encased in an ivory scabbard.[33] Nowhere else in Homer do we have ivory devoted to such a purpose—decidedly a feature of the east.

It is indeed surprising that the point noted above is not appreciated by so experienced an archaeologist as Dörpfeld, a scholar, moreover, who never hesitates to break with geographical tradition. The island of Corcyra has yielded but the scantiest of Bronze Age remains,[34] and there is no reason to expect that future excavations will reveal anything more

[29a] This was suggested long ago by A. C. Merriam, *The Phaeacians of Homer* (1880), pp. 260–261. This little-known work contains a study of all the Homeric passages wherein the Phaeacians are mentioned.

[30] *Od.* IV, 46 ff. and 68 ff.

[31] *Od.* IV, 81 ff.

[32] *Od.* VII, 81 ff.

[33] *Od.* VIII, 404.

[34] See Dörpfeld in *Arch. Anz.* (1913), 101 ff.; *Ath. Mitt.* XXXIX, 175 f.; Fimmen, *Die Kret.-Myken. Kultur* (1921), p. 4.

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pretentious than what has already been found in the other Ionian Islands[35] and particularly Leucas.[36] Furthermore, the migration of the Phaeacians to Scheria, which Homer seems really to know something about, strongly suggests one of the minor movements of tribes which attended the great *Völkerwanderung* known from historical sources to have occurred in the eastern Mediterranean near the time of the Trojan War.[37]

There are various other considerations which tend to link Scheria with the Orient. The sailing directions given to Odysseus by Calypso on his departure from her island are the most explicit of any that attend the voyaging of the hero.[38] So he sails on his raft-boat for seventeen consecutive days, keeping the Great Bear on his left. Despite the slightly altered astronomical relations of earth and the constellations that have come about in the course of three millennia, it is quite certain that this course would have led him in a general easterly direction.[39] It may be objected that a clumsy craft of this kind would make relatively slow progress. But the question is hardly one of the possibilities of matter-of-fact navigation, but rather of the probabilities of the epic story. We read in *Od.* XIV, 301 ff., how Odysseus, bestriding a single spar, is carried in eight days from a point in the sea somewhere to the south of Crete to the land of the Thesprotians. The distance here involved is very considerable. So it is a

[35] See Fimmen, *l.c.* For Thiaki, add Dörpfeld, *Alt-Ithaka*, pp. 144–151.

[36] The discoveries are published in full by Dörpfeld, *op. cit.*, pp. 152–338.

[37] See below.

[38] *Od.* v, 276 ff. See Seymour, *Life in the Hom. Age*[2] (1914), p. 59.

[39] I find it impossible to agree with the astronomical subtleties recently set forth by Professor D'Arcy W. Thompson (*Proc. Class. Assoc.* XXVI (1929), 28–29), who regards Odysseus as headed towards the southwest. It is indisputable that the heavens have, in the course of ages, slightly altered their position in relation to earth. But if, as Professor Thompson avers, the Great Bear was seen by Odysseus stretching from the meridian towards the northeast, by keeping the constellation on his left, as the text declares (there is no mention made of the "Pointers"), he would have found himself sailing southeast. If his course lay towards the southwest, why did he not sail by Orion, which lay in that direction? Can Professor Thompson's southwest be a slip for south*east*?

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reasonable supposition that a seventeen days' sail on a well-constructed raft-boat propelled by a favoring wind indicates a very lengthy voyage indeed. It matters little where Ogygia is situate. The time required to complete the voyage is twice that of any whose length is noted in the *Odyssey*.[40]

It seems that it may be possible to trace the course of Odysseus towards the east by means of certain hints let fall in the narrative. Farrington[41] has recently made an interesting suggestion regarding the psychological point of view expressed in the famous crux of *Od.* IX, 21 ff. Why, he asks, does the wanderer represent his island home as lying far off on the western horizon? Inasmuch as his observations are addressed to the Phaeacians, a natural inference is that their land lay somewhere to the east of Ithaca.

In *Od.* VII, 78–81, Athena is said to have left Scheria and to have proceeded to Athens *via* Marathon. As no other Marathon is known except the deme and village of Attica of that name, and since this lies almost directly east of Athens, the passage supplies proof in itself—to any but the most prejudiced mind—that Scheria lay to the eastward of the mainland of Greece.

But we are able, it seems, to follow the voyage of Odysseus even somewhat farther east. When he is a distance of two days' swim from Scheria, he is seen by Poseidon from the mountains of the Solymi in Lycia.[42] I am not sure that the significance of this outlook of the god has hitherto been observed. Poseidon is represented in Homer as possessing extraordinary powers of hearing, so that a prayer addressed to him will reach his ears from anywhere. But he is nowhere designated as one gifted with keenness of vision. He is not like Hera who from Olympus is able to keep an eye on Zeus

[40] Homeric voyaging is studied by Seymour, *op. cit.*, pp. 58 ff.

[41] B. Farrington in *Class. Phil.* XXIV (1929), 299–300; cf. his book, *Samuel Butler and the Odyssey* (1929), pp. 33 ff. Mr. Farrington supports the curious view of Butler regarding the *Odyssey*, on which see the recent paper of A. Shewan, *Class. Week.* XXII (1929), 202–204.

[42] *Od.* V, 282 ff.

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in his perch on Mount Ida.[43] Indeed, to secure a good view of the battles on the Trojan plain, he is obliged to scale the heights of Samothrace,[44] and he is at his best when he mingles with the fighting men on the shore. Why then are the mountains of the Solymi here assigned to him as his watchtower? Obviously, because he is conceived of by Homer as surveying no more of the sea than the waters which wash the southern and eastern shores of Lycia. Furthermore, if the suggestion be not too subtle, were he to stand on the very summit of the mountain in question, his view to the westward would have been obstructed by a higher range in the interior of Lycia. So it seems safe to regard Odysseus as having reached, at this point, a longitude of about 30° east.

Poseidon vents his wrath on the hero and his frail bark is destroyed.[45] According to Bérard,[46] the waters which lie to the southeast of Lycia are noted for the extreme violence of their storms. But with the aid of Ino's wimple, which does no more than keep him afloat, Odysseus swims to land in forty-eight hours. He is wafted on his way by Boreas, which would have occasioned a southerly or southeasterly drift. He reaches Scheria, which can be none other than the island of Cyprus. But it is not necessary to postulate an exact coincidence of the two names in this topographical application. Scheria may have comprised, I think, only the western or northwestern sections of the island. But throughout the remainder of this essay, the words Cyprus and Scheria will be regarded hypothetically as synonymous.

The "shadowy mountains"[47] of Scheria are descried by Odysseus while he is still well out at sea. Mt. Troödus, in the Olympus range of western Cyprus, is unusually imposing, towering as it does 6400 feet in the air. The hero has difficulty in landing, "for there were neither harbors where ships

[43] *Il.* XIV, 153.
[44] *Il.* XIII, 10 ff.
[45] *Od.* V, 271 ff.
[46] V. Bérard, *Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssée*[2] (1927), I, pp. 188 f.
[47] *Od.* V, 279.

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might ride, nor roadsteads, but only projecting headlands, and reefs, and cliffs." [48] The coast of Cyprus, particularly at its northwestern extremity, is exceedingly poor in havens of any kind, but it would not be difficult for one to find shelter, as Odysseus presently does, at the mouth of its somewhat numerous streams.

A little to the west of Cyprus lies the insignificant island known in Classical times as Stiria, which may perhaps be the progenitor of the "stone ship" of the Phaeacians.[49] I have not, however, been able to find any legend associated with it. There is great difficulty in understanding how we ought to rationalize the story of Poseidon and his chief threat to the Phaeacians. He ponders over the question whether it would be proper for him to cast a great mountain round them,[50] though in the end he appears to have repented him of this great evil.[51] Does this signify a fear on their part of an impending earthquake resulting in a subsidence of the earth at one point and a consequent elevation of the ground outside the centre of disturbance? Or does it mean, as some think, that a cataclysm will isolate them from the interior? [52] Or from the sea? [53] It is impossible to say. At any rate, Cyprus, in common with most of the lands bordering on the Mediterranean, is subject to frequent earthquakes.[54] On the other hand, if it should prove to be true that the settlements of the Phaeacians were on the north of the island,[55] it may not be

[48] *Od.* v, 404 ff.

[49] It is mentioned by Pliny, *N.H.* v, 130, and is described by E. Oberhummer, *Die Insel Cypern* (1903), I, p. 132. I do not seriously propose to link Stiria with Scheria etymologically. Stiria is possibly pre-Greek, but is probably derived from *στεῖρος*. Compare the Attic deme Stiria (*Στειριά*, *Στηριά*, or *Στεριά*) of the tribe Pandionis (Lysias, 147, 13; Plutarch, *Alcib.* 26) and the Phocian town *Στεῖρις* or *Στίρις* (Plutarch, *Cim.* 1; Paus. x, 3, 2). The modern name for Stiria is Kakoskaliu.

[50] *Od.* XIII, 149 ff.

[51] Propitiation is made in *Od.* XIII, 181 ff. Cf. note below.

[52] Cf. A. Shewan, *Class. Phil.* XIV (1919), 107.

[53] Cf. Merry's commentary on *Od.* XII, 152; A. T. Murray, *Odyssey* (Loeb Class. Lib.), I, p. 299.

[54] See J. L. Myres' article "Cyprus" in *Encycl. Brit.*, 11th ed.

[55] Suggested in note below.

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without significance that the northern plain of Cyprus is almost, but not quite completely, isolated from the interior by a mountain range which runs from east to west a distance of 100 miles or more.

A good *prima facie* case for the identification of Scheria with Cyprus on other grounds than these is revealed through a number of noteworthy observations in the Homeric text. Scheria, as the poet insists, is remote, isolated, and far removed from the rest of the world. Cyprus is actually the most isolated island in the Mediterranean, and its geographical sequestration seems heightened by the fact that it lies somewhat outside the lines of traffic of the ancient world, except perhaps to vessels plying between northern Phoenicia and western Asia Minor.[56]

The Phaeacians are unusually lavish in their use of bronze. The palace of Alcinous has a bronze threshold, bronze walls, and a bronze floor.[57] No other abode of mortals is like this,[58] not even the splendid house of Menelaus. Bronze figures very largely in the gifts that the Phaeacians bestow.[59] This is extremely suggestive of the vast copper resources of Cyprus, an island that gave its own name in later years to this very metal.

Lines 442–4 of the seventeenth book of the *Odyssey* may or may not be a later addition to the poem.[60] The passage contains the last account of himself that Odysseus gives after his return to Ithaca, and declares that he has returned home in straight course from Cyprus. His words are addressed to the suitors, with whom he does not require to be as much on his guard as before the members of his own household. The point involved is at least worth noting.

[56] Trade and commerce in the Mediterranean in the Bronze Age are discussed by V. Bérard, *op. cit.* I, pp. 307 ff.; G. Glotz, *Aegean Civilization* (1925), pp. 185 ff.

[57] *Od.* VII, 78 ff.

[58] Elsewhere in Homer bronze thresholds are found only in the palaces of the gods. For references see Seymour, *op. cit.* p. 192.

[59] *Od.* V, 38; XIII, 19, 136, 368; XVI, 231.

[60] On this point see especially Bérard, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 43 f.

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The archaeology of Cyprus in the Bronze Age is, unhappily, only imperfectly known. Prior to a date about half a dozen years ago, excavation had confined itself to the seeking and opening of tombs in the numerous and well marked necropoleis of the island. Even here the results were unsatisfactory. The graves of remote antiquity had not infrequently been cleared and re-used by later generations; and the work of excavation was not always scientifically carried out.[61] It was not until 1924 that a Swedish expedition led by Einar Gjerstad began a systematic survey of sites and undertook a plan of thorough investigation. The work is still in progress and many of the results have not yet been published. It is therefore impossible to subject Phaeacian culture, in so far as it is revealed to us through Homer, to a detailed comparison with the Cypriote culture of the late Bronze Age. None the less, some important points of coincidence have appeared.

The city of the Phaeacians, unlike the towns of Crete, is fully fortified.[62] Three at least of the early Cypriote sites, Nikolides,[63] Nitovikla, and Vikla,[64] are protected by fortifications. Though the precise age of these has not been determined, their presence establishes at any rate the principle of the walled settlement in Cyprus. Both the middle and late Cypriote periods yield fortresses[65] that seem to have been used as military stations. Very few of the house sites in the island have been examined. But the foundation walls of two that have been unearthed reveal a megaron type of dwelling, similar—on a small scale—to the palace of Alcinous.[66] At the doorway of the latter stood golden dogs. No examples, naturally enough, of figures in so precious a metal have survived. But the Cypriote artists of the later periods of the

[61] F. Poulsen in *Jahrb. Arch. Inst.* XXVI, 215 ff.; Sir Arthur Evans in *J. Royal Anthrop. Inst.*, 1900. But H. R. Hall defends the excavators, *The Civil. of Greece in the Bronze Age* (1928), p. 227, n. 1.

[62] *Od.* VI, 9, 261–263; VII, 44.

[63] E. Gjerstad, *Stud. on Prehist. Cyprus* (1926), p. 6.

[64] *Ibid.*, p. 11; cf. D. Hogarth, *Devia Cypria*, p. 78.

[65] Gjerstad, *op. cit.*, pp. 37–47.

[66] *Ibid.*, pp. 30, 36. The houses are provided with fixed hearths.

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Bronze Age were fond of representing in terracotta both dogs and other animals.[67] This zoömorphic flair is attributed by Gjerstad to the probable separation of Cypriote culture in early times from that of the near east.[68] Apropos of the distaste of the Phaeacians for archery, it may be noted that the excavators record the discovery of only an occasional arrowhead. Seemingly, the Cypriotes early and late were "no true lovers of the long-bow."

It has long been known that Cyprus received Aegean settlers in the late Bronze Age.[69] I use the word Aegean here with a view to avoiding any misunderstanding that might arise from the employment of a more specific term, and wish to signify by it those peoples whose culture was similar, in a general way, to that of Late Helladic III. The rather stodgy culture of the native Cypriotes is augmented, but not superseded, by a wealth of pottery, ornament, and what not of the sort found in contemporary Mycenae. Later on a new phase develops. Prior to the Swedish investigations of 1924, scholars seem to have been unanimous in the belief that Aegean colonists or conquerors descended upon the island in the Late Cypriote II period (1400–1200). But Gjerstad's preliminary researches led him to the conclusion that the date is too early,[70] and his opinion was amply confirmed by the results of the campaign of 1927. He points to the very significant facts that all the pottery found in Cyprus belonging to the period of 1400–1200 is indistinguishable in technique from the stock Helladic type; and at the same time the characteristic Cypriote tombs remain

[67] *Ibid.*, pp. 130, 131, 146, 176, 189, 191, 197, 202, 207, 226, 254.

[68] *Ibid.*, p. 191, n. 5.

[69] See E. Meyer, *Geschichte d. Alt.*[2] I, p. 552; *Camb. Anc. Hist.* II and III, *passim;* H. R. Hall, *op. cit.*, pp. 212 f.; cf. his *Anc. Hist. of Near East*[5], 1920, p. 68; G. Glotz, *op. cit.*, pp. 213 ff. Some scholars have even postulated a "Cypro-Mycenean" period. See Ohnefalsch-Richter in *Verhandl. d. Berl. Gesellschaft*, 1899, p. 356. R. Dussaud, in *Les civilisations préhellen.*[2] (1914), pp. 240 ff., speaks of "Cypro-Mycenean" ceramics. But this pottery has parallels elsewhere; cf. Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *Myken. Vas.* (1886), p. ix. Cf. Gjerstad, *op. cit.*, pp. 218 ff.

[70] *Ibid.*, p. 328.

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unaltered.[71] This indicates, he concludes, nothing more than that Cyprus had now turned her back on the east and plunged into the sphere of Mycenean commercial influence.[72] In other words, the presence in Cyprus of commodities of Aegean manufacture is to be explained on economic and not immigrational grounds.

But in the Late Cypriote III period (1200–1000),[73] "there is an assimilation of the sub-Mycenean and the native pottery"; and now "the shape of the tombs gives evidence that Mycenean Greeks have been buried in them; they are identical in type with the Mycenean chamber tombs, though of a smaller size." It is impossible, one feels, to overestimate the importance of this. Moreover, "many of the shapes of the vases and ornaments remind one of the Mycenean art in its latest stage." An examination of the skeletal remains recently found in the tombs of northern Cyprus may reveal much to the ethnologist. But in view of what has already been brought to light, it seems impossible to doubt any longer that the first of the Aegean migrations to Cyprus began about the year 1200.

All this is extremely interesting as viewed in relation to what Homer tells us of the Phaeacian settlement. They had reached Scheria under the leadership of Nausithous about a generation, presumably, before the visit of Odysseus.[74] If the traditional dates of the Trojan War are at all correct, this would give us the decade of 1200–1190 as the time of the appearance of the Phaeacians in the island.

They had come from "broad Hyperea, near to the Cyclopes, haughty men, who plundered them and were stronger than they." The name Hyperea occurs twice elsewhere in Homer.

[71] See Fimmen, *Die Kret.-Myken. Kultur* (1921), p. 104.

[72] See Gjerstad, *op. cit.*, p. 327. This is due primarily to an expansion of the copper trade.

[73] See Gjerstad in *Antiquity*, II (1928), 189–191. The views here stated are further confirmed by a press dispatch of Dec. 18, 1929. Cf. also *The Illustrated London News*, Nov. 9, 1929, 806 ff.

[74] *Od.* VI, 3–10.

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In the Catalogue [75] it is a site, not yet identified, in the neighborhood of Pharsalus. The other reference [76] to it is so vague that it cannot be determined whether the same settlement is indicated, or whether the term is used generically. As the Cyclopes seem to have no Thessalian affinities, this helps us not at all. Hyperea was also an old name for Aegina [77] and for one of the original sectors of the city of Troezen.[78] Variants of the name are found elsewhere, including a certain Hypereas in Sicily.[79]

From the common association of the Cyclopes with Mt. Etna, scholars have chosen—so far as they have considered the point seriously—to look for Hyperea in or near Sicily.[80] It is assumed, though somewhat uncritically it would appear, that the Cyclopes who annoyed the Phaeacians and those who destroyed the companions of Odysseus were one and the same people. The latter, according to Homer, had no ships; [81] so they could not have molested the Phaeacians unless their settlement was in Sicily itself. In that case, what of the anthropophagous leanings of the Cyclopes so vividly described in the ninth book of the *Odyssey*? [82] It is obvious that the unfortunate Phaeacians would have been devoured in short order. And again, even if we should accept the traditional Scheria-Corcyra view, it would be extremely difficult to account for the wholesale migration of a people by sea, in the late Bronze Age, for so great a distance.

But we have a legend, which looks to a time anterior to the Trojan War, regarding the presence of Cyclopes in Lycia. These are the archbuilders of antiquity who constructed the

[75] *Il.* II, 734.

[76] *Il.* VI, 457.

[77] Paus. VII, 26, 2.

[78] Paus. II, 30, 8–9.

[79] These passages are fully discussed by T. W. Allen, *The Hom. Cat. of Ships* (1921), pp. 125 ff.

[80] Seymour, *op. cit.*, p. 58, gives some account of this. Cf. also A. S. Cooley, *A.J.A.* XXXIV (1930), 52.

[81] *Od.* IX, 125 ff.

[82] *Od.* IX, 287 ff.

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walls of Mycenae and Tiryns.[83] There is no reason to believe that they were regarded as fabulous or sub-human creatures in the original story; though a later age confounded them with the demoniacal volcano powers of Lycia [84] and Sicily.

If these are the Cyclopes that Homer has in mind, the original habitat of the Phaeacians may be placed either in Lycia itself or, more probably I think, to the eastward in the Pamphylian plain. The epithet εὐρύχορος [85] used by the poet in reference to Hyperea would well fit the level uplands of Pamphylia, a region which, as its name implies, was occupied in antiquity by a great diversity of tribes. The situation might well have resembled that of Scotland in past ages—a peaceful and prosperous lowland population harried by constant forays made by the clans of the highlands.[86]

It is unfortunate that we still know so little of the archaeology of southern Asia Minor in the Bronze Age; but there is one very important social link between the Phaeacians and the Anatolians. All readers of the *Odyssey* have been struck with the prominence given to the Phaeacian women. They possess, as one writer puts it, something in the way of a monopoly of the brains in the island. Besides, Arete, the wife of Alcinous, is his own niece.[87] There is here more than a suspicion of *Mutterrecht,* an institution which we know from Herodotus prevailed in Lycia.[88] Sir J. G. Frazer thinks that it was widespread in southwestern Asia Minor. And Sir

[83] Paus. II, 16, 5; 25, 8; Strabo, VIII, 6, 8, p. 371; Apollod. *Bibl.* II, 2, 1; Bacchylides, X, 77 ff. J. P. Harland thinks that the movement of this people from Asia Minor to the Peloponnesus is connected with some legend of "Early Helladic migrations of Asianic people to the Helladic peninsula" (*Prehistoric Aigina* (1925), p. 58).

[84] Lycia, in addition, has supplies of natural gas; H. J. Rose, *Greek Mythology* (1928), p. 165.

[85] *Od.* VI, 4. Its derivation is disputed, but in any case it denotes spaciousness.

[86] On social conditions in Lycia see Sir J. G. Frazer, *Golden Bough*, VI, p. 213.

[87] *Od.* VII, 64 ff.

[88] Hdt. I, 174; cf. Plutarch, *De Mulierum Virtutibus*, 9; see Frazer's note, *l.c.*

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William Ramsay [89] has recently shown the remarkably exalted position of women throughout Asia Minor in general. This contrasts with the Achaean view. Their women are reverenced, but are kept in their own place.[90]

It may not be out of place to draw attention to the curious incongruity in the attitude of Poseidon towards the Phaeacians. He is their ancestor, and Alcinous is removed from him but two generations. And yet the god, who is otherwise so jealous of the welfare of his offspring, is by no means friendly towards this people. He threatens them and ultimately punishes them [91] for their practice of indiscriminately convoying all strangers over the sea. This attitude on his part is difficult to explain. Can it be that we have here a mingling of theologies—the orthodox Homeric conception of Poseidon combined with that of the Anatolian Osogus or Zenoposeidon? [92] It is a subject worthy at any rate of further consideration.

This view which we have adopted of the origin of the Phaeacians is in harmony, it would appear, with current historical belief regarding the movements of peoples in the eastern Mediterranean at about the year 1200. Of a date round 1225, the oft quoted Egyptian text notes: "The isles were restless, disturbed among themselves at one and the same time." Some powerful thrust from the north, not as yet fully explained, occasioned the overthrow of the Hittite kingdom; and, as Hall remarks: [93] "The displaced peoples of the Aegean shore and the hinterland of Lycia, Caria, and Pamphylia would naturally take their way eastward further south along the coast of Cilicia." Thirty years later comes the great

[89] Sir W. M. Ramsay, *Asianic Elements in Gr. Civil.* (1927), pp. 267 ff., and cf. his earlier study in *The Expositor*, Nov. 1906, p. 475. Words denoting relationship in Lycian and Hittite have been studied by E. H. Sturtevant, *T.A.P.A.* LIX (1928), 48 ff.

[90] On women in Homer see Seymour, *op. cit.*, pp. 117 ff.

[91] *Od.* XIII, 162 ff.

[92] See Preller-Robert, *Gr. Myth.*[4] I, p. 580; Paus. VIII, 10, 4, and the note in Frazer's edition.

[93] H. R. Hall in *Camb. Anc. Hist.* II, p. 284.

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attack on Egypt and the rout of the Sea Peoples at the hands of Ramses III.[94]

Of the latter movement Myres [95] notes that the new culture which suddenly appears in Cyprus "is characterized by many points of resemblance with what is known of the civilization of Cilicia and North Syria in the period of 'reoccupation,' . . . from which it may be inferred that Cyprus was now both a refuge for broken folk from mainland districts and a source whence those districts were repeopled and reconstituted when the worst was over." Dr. Frankfort [96] has drawn attention to a particular type of Anatolian vase, with a strainer spout and a handle set at right angles to it, which appears in Cyprus in the twelfth century. Gjerstad [97] is inclined to think that the first Aegean settlers on the north of the island came from Asia Minor and that their coming may be associated with the movements of the Sea Peoples. One hesitates to include here the possible support of the Hittite texts; but if the recent interpretation is correct, it would appear that about the end of the thirteenth century the Achaeans were driven back into Pamphylia and sought compensation by forming settlements in the island of Cyprus.[98] Eduard Meyer [99] is authority for the statement that Pamphylia was colonized by Achaean Greeks as early as the thirteenth or fourteenth century. There is also the Greek tradition of Achaean descents upon Cyprus in the period following the Trojan War.[100] It would seem very much as though the Phaeacians formed the vanguard of

[94] Described *ibid.*, *passim*.

[95] J. L. Myres, *ibid.* III, p. 637.

[96] H. Frankfort, *Asia, Europe, and the Aegean* (1927), p. 165 and n. 2.

[97] E. Gjerstad, *op. cit.*, p. 328. In *Antiquity*, II (1928), 190, he seems to intimate that the earliest Aegean settlement on the island was that of Lapethus on the north coast, but I am not quite sure of his meaning. This is at about the place where I should be inclined to put the Phaeacian settlement.

[98] See E. Forrer, *Mitt. d. D. Orient-Ges.*, 1924, 1–24; *Oriental. Literaturzeit.* XXV (1924), 113–118; cf. P. Dhorme, *Rev. Biblique*, 1924, 557–565.

[99] E. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Alt.*[2] I, p. 552. He thinks that Cyprus was thus colonized simultaneously with Pamphylia; but Gjerstad's work had not yet appeared.

[100] For this colonization see J. L. Myres in *Camb. Anc. Hist.* III, pp. 643 ff.

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a movement of Aegeans towards Cyprus, which may well have occupied much of the twelfth century.

The new culture thus established in the island long outlived the same civilization elsewhere.[101] The very seclusion of Cyprus made for convention. As it persisted down to the ninth century, it must have been well enough known to Homer at first or second hand. Hence, I think, the intimacy with which he handles the Phaeacians. But their civilization was becoming old and tottering by his day, socially if not materially, which would account for his mildly satirical vein.

Cyprus is mentioned by that name once in the *Iliad* and several times in the *Odyssey*. Victor Bérard[102] would have us excise all such passages where the word occurs on the ground of their being late interpolations. He makes out indeed a very strong case, and the lay of Demodocus was, of course, rejected even in antiquity. Be this as it may, there is no reason to believe that the island went under the name of Cyprus as early as the Trojan War. The appellation came into use some time during the Dark Ages of Greek history, and would thus probably be known to Homer. Scheria, as has already been intimated, may very possibly include no more than the northwestern extremity of the island. So, even if the passages in question are genuine, no difficulty would arise therefrom.

Scheria has traditionally been derived from the Greek σχερός, and has been explained as meaning "coast-line" or "Capetown."[103] But the word is very probably pre-Greek, of a formation similar to Icaria.[104] The same is likely true of Phaiakes. The proposals that have been made to regard

[101] On the linguistic survival see P. Giles, *ibid.* II, p. 78; for bronze-work see Miss Winifred Lamb, *Greek and Roman Bronzes* (1929), pp. 30 ff. Cf. also *A.J.A.* XXXIV (1930). 102.

[102] V. Bérard, *op. cit.* II, pp. 42 ff.; cf. his *Introd. à l'Odyssée*, I, pp. 275–279.

[103] See Merry's *Odyssey* on V, 34; B. Farrington, *Samuel Butler and the Odyssey*, p. 15.

[104] Compare names with -r- suffix listed in the article of J. B. Haley (with C. W. Blegen), *A.J.A.* XXXII (1928), 141 ff.

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it as a parody on Phoenikes or a variant of Phokaieis seem hardly to merit serious consideration.[105]

Do those names, Scheria and Phaeacians, occur in any writings older than Homer? Not the latter, so far as I can find; the former possibly. It is necessary here to proceed with extreme caution. Egyptian and Hittite texts have supplied many place names and personal names which belong outside of Egypt and the land of the Hatti. But the attempts that have been made from time to time to relate these to Hellenic prototypes have not yet proved altogether fruitful.[106] In most instances judgment must for the present be suspended. The name Alasyia, which occurs as early as the Tell-el-Amarna [106] letters and disappears shortly after 1200, has been generally accepted as signifying Cyprus, though it is noteworthy that so eminent an historian as Dr. Hall has recently altered his former views regarding the identification, and now places Alasyia in Cilicia.[108] On the whole, the traditional identification seems reasonably certain.[109] Now, during the reign of Amenhotep III (*circa* 1412–1376), we have mention of a town or district in Alasyia by the name of Sikra or Sekra.[110] In view of the limitations of the Egyptian script, this might represent the Homeric Scheria: indeed, the phonetic resemblance is remarkable.

Among the foreign peoples of the north with whom the Egyptians had dealings, friendly or otherwise, are the Shakal-

[105] The Phoenician suggestion, first made by Mure in App. E of his *History of Gr. Lit.* I, is given quite a different turn by A. Shewan, *Class. Phil.* XIV, 97 ff.

[106] It is interesting to observe the efforts put forth, in this connection, by the contributors to the *Camb. Anc. Hist.* II and III.

[107] The letters from the king of Alasyia are edited and translated by J. A. Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna Tafeln* (1915), I, pp. 278 ff. The translation is repeated in H. Th. Bossert, *Alt Kreta*[1] (1921), pp. 59 ff.

[108] H. R. Hall, *Anc. Hist. of Near East*[5] (1920), p. 243, n. 2, and cf. his map in *Civ. of Greece in the Bronze Age*. Wainwright thinks that Alasyia is a part of Syria (*Klio*, XIV, 1914–15, 1 ff.).

[109] See *Camb. Anc. Hist.* II and III, *passim*.

[110] See E. Oberhummer, *Die Insel Cypern* (1903), I, p. 29.

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sha, or Shakarusha, or Shekerusha, or Shekeresh,[111] as the word is variously transliterated. De Rougé [112] first proposed, in 1867, their identification with the Sikels of Sicily. But it is very difficult to understand how a people living so far to the north and west could have encountered the Egyptians as frequently as did the Shekeresh. Therefore, modern scholarship has associated the name with the Sikels [113] in their earlier habitat—presumably Asia Minor—or with the folk of the Pisidian city of Sagalassus. But these hypotheses have never been supported with any great degree of heartiness. All too little is known of the movements of the Sikels prior to their appearance in Sicily, and Sagalassus was a town of no particular importance. I venture, then, the proposal that the Shekeresh may be none other than the people of Scheria. This would serve phonetically; and the Sikra or Shekera noted above might thus comprise their tribal district or chief city. They are not, of course, the Phaeacians; the latter arrive later.

It may be that the migration of the Phaeacians to Scheria was well timed. About 1194 the armies of Ramses III inflicted upon the Shekeresh and their allies a defeat that amounted virtually to extermination.[114] We have seen that the Phaeacians came to their new home in the decade 1200–1190. If our earlier premises are correct, the incoming settlers would have found the native Shekeresh so weakened by this blow that they might have occupied the country—as they seem to have done—without serious opposition.

[111] J. H. Breasted, *Anc. Records of Egypt*, III, pp. 241 ff. The Shekeresh are represented in Egyptian art as wearing pointed conical caps (see the illustration in V. Gordon Childe's *The Aryans* (1926), Pl. v, 1). Professor Childe doubts whether any of the Sea Peoples, with the possible exception of the Achaeans, were Aryans (*op. cit.*, pp. 75 f.).

[112] De Rougé in *Rev. Arch.*, 1867, 1 ff.

[113] First proposed by Maspero, *Rev. Critique*, IX (1880), 109. The affiliations of the Sea Peoples are thoroughly discussed by H. R. Hall in *Camb. Anc. Hist.* II, pp. 275–288. Two recent illuminating articles which treat of their movements are those of L. B. Holland, "The Danaoi," *Harv. Stud. in Class. Phil.* XXXIX (1928), 59–92, and W. K. Prentice, "The Achaeans," *A.J.A.* XXXIII (1929), 206–218.

[114] Champollion, *Mon.*, pp. 222, 224, and Bossert, *op. cit.*, pp. 55 f., cite the recording inscriptions.

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The relations of the Phaeacians with marine affairs and their concomitant foreign relationships present a curiously difficult problem. They are lovers of the sea; their ships are as swift as a flying thing or a thought of the mind, and they require no steering. At the same time the people are alone and isolated, and have nothing to do with the rest of mankind. Of what service, then, are those ships that are said to visit all shores? Their sole use, seemingly, is that of convoying strangers over the sea. But at the same time the men of Scheria dislike and are suspicious of strangers.[115]

In an attempt to harmonize these manifest contradictions, one can offer no more than plausible conjectures. Homer's exaggerated account of the ships perhaps reflects a tradition of an early thalassocracy. But at all events the Phaeacian vessels become material enough upon occasion, as Seymour [116] has indicated. The details of the toiling shipyards [117] are quite prosaic, and the seamen are obliged at times to betake themselves to their oars.[118] All their comings and goings surely betoken an active foreign trade. Scheria is hardly "self-contained" and materials such as ivory at least have to be imported. It has often been maintained that the Phaeacians are averse to trade, the contention being founded on the passage in *Od.* VIII, 158 ff., wherein Euryalus insults Odysseus by remarking that he is more like a trader than an athlete. The view is utterly wrong, based as it is on a misunderstanding of the social situation. The contempt expressed by Euryalus is merely that of a member of the nobility for a common tradesman. The hesitation of Odysseus to participate in the contests seems to Euryalus to mark him as no gentleman in the technical sense of the term. Napoleon,

[115] The Phaeacians do not acknowledge this last; the authority is Athena in her warning to Odysseus (*Od.* VII, 30–33).

[116] Seymour, *op. cit.*, p. 319.

[117] *Od.* VI, 269 ff.

[118] *Od.* XII, 78, 115. If the Phaeacians actually attained to the distinction of a thalassocracy, it must have been at an earlier date than the thalassocracies mentioned in Eusebius. The Cypriote rule of the sea which he records must have been in the eighth century (cf. J. L. Myres in *J.H.S.* XXVI (1906), 1 ff.).

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in his famous dictum, stigmatized the English as "a nation of shopkeepers," and yet until a very recent time a tradesman was not permitted to participate in English amateur sport.

Doubtless the Phaeacians are possessed of a navy as well as a mercantile marine. Their swift-flying ships were of the cruising galley type seen frequently on Cycladic vases.[119] Cyprus itself also has yielded some models of a similar style fashioned in terracotta.[120] The magnificent forests [121] that clad the hills of Cyprus in antiquity provided timber for shipbuilding.[122] Glotz [123] declares that the Cypriotes must have had a strong navy as early as the sixteenth century; but the date is probably too early.

To the Phaeacians, Euboea appeared as a veritable "back of beyond," [124] though they seem to have been familiar with the location of Ithaca. Several Euboeas besides Negropont are mentioned by Strabo and Herodotus; [125] but the place to which Rhadamanthus was conveyed on his visit to Tityus was apparently the great island itself. Tityus had a shrine there at which he was worshipped in historical times, and there was also shown a cave in the island named after his mother Elare.[126] There is no evidence with which I am familiar to show that Cypriote copper was exported directly to any point west of Euboea as early as the time of Odysseus. But with this island Cyprus had early trade relations,[127] and it may thus be conceived of as the most remote station in her trade route in the Aegean Sea.

[119] See the designs from these in G. Glotz, *op. cit.*, fig. 31. Cf. A. Köster, *Das antike Seewesen*, fig. 11.

[120] See R. Dussaud, *op. cit.*, p. 420, fig. 310.

[121] Gjerstad, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

[122] On the subject of forests and shipbuilding see E. C. Semple, "Ancient Mediterranean Forests," in *Annals Assoc. Am. Geogr.*, 1919, 13–40; A. C. Johnson, "Ancient Forests and Navies," in *T.A.P.A.* LVIII (1927), 199–209.

[123] Glotz, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

[124] *Od.* VII, 322.

[125] Attention was drawn to this by Giffard, *op. cit.*, p. 65 n.

[126] Strabo, IX, 3, 14, p. 423.

[127] Glotz, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

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The convoys provided for strangers by the Phaeacians might well suggest something equivalent to a passenger service. But such a postulate would involve an absurd anachronism. We actually hear of no others but Rhadamanthus and Odysseus being thus transported. Perhaps the idea of deportation lay behind it all. The Phaeacians were newly arrived and may well have had a subject population in the city ready to revolt at any opportunity. There is a hint of this here and there in the narrative.[128] Can it be that the goodnatured islanders were glad to rid themselves peacefully of suspicious characters, who might have roused trouble in the settlement, by speeding them on their way?[129]

[128] As the ὑπερφίαλοι κατὰ δῆμον that Nausicaa speaks of (*Od.* VI, 274).

[129] Eustathius (on *Od.* XIII, 160) suggests that Homer's real reason for introducing the episode of Poseidon and the mountain and leaving the outcome uncertain was that, in case the Phaeacians were not discovered in his day, he might be able to say that undoubtedly the god had carried out his threat.

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XII.—*The Manuscripts of the Integumenta on the Metamorphoses of Ovid by John of Garland*

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At no time is it likely that Ovid and his works were ever completely forgotten, but in the early centuries of the Christian schools and monasteries much use of him can hardly be supposed.[1] Saint Augustine reproached himself for having enjoyed the classics;[2] and they were inveighed against by Gregory the Great,[3] and by Isidore of Seville (who nevertheless quotes Ovid several times).[4] The first foreshadowing of the change in events appears in Theodolphus of Orleans who dared to suggest that perhaps certain truths lay hidden under this false exterior.[5] The predominating position of Vergil in the earlier centuries was another factor that strongly militated against the advance of Ovid.[6] But from the time of the Carolingian Renaissance his influence on medieval writers is easily distinguishable,[7] and in the twelfth and thirteenth

[1] R. Schevill, *Ovid and the Renascence in Spain* (University of California Publications in Modern Philology, IV, 1–268, Berkeley, 1913), pp. 6–27.

[2] *Confessionum S. Augustini libri tredecim*, in Migne, *Patrologia*, XXXI, col. 670; cf. Schevill, pp. 7–9.

[3] Schevill, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

[4] *Sententiae*, III, 12–13.

[5] Migne, CV, col. 331. Cf. Bartsch, *Albrecht von Halberstadt und Ovid im Mittelalter* (Leipzig, 1861), pp. i–iv.

[6] Cf. Comparetti, *Vergil in the Middle Ages*, trans. by E. Benecke, London, 1895, chaps. VI–VIII; and Schanz, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*[2] . . . (Munich, 1899), II, 1, p. 237, and bibliography, p. 238.

[7] Cf. Schevill, *op. cit.*, pp. 12–13; Groeber, *Grundriss der Romanischen Philologie* (Strassburg, 1893), II, *passim;* Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* (Munich, 1911–19), indices to volumes I and II; Graf, *Roma nella Memoria e nella Immaginazioni del Medio Evo* (Turin, 1883), II, pp. 153–195, 259–321; Manitius, "Beiträge zur Geschichte der Ovidius und anderer römischer Schriftsteller im Mittelalter," *Philologus*, Suppl. Bd. VII (1899), 723–768, esp. 723–758 for Ovid; *id.*, "Zu römischen Schriftstellern im Mittelalter," *Philologus*, LXI (1902), 455–472, esp. 464–465 for Ovid.

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centuries he came into his own.[8] In spite of all efforts to prevent the reading of this poet whose works were most to be avoided,[9] he was read and used. Therefore the new condition had to be faced and justified in the eyes of the church fathers. What was simpler than to model the campaign upon that which had been so successful in the case of Vergil? Ovid was made a part of legend,[10] and *Vitae* were written to show that he was a Christian poet writing with a moral purpose.[11]

In the thirteenth century, then, which especially delighted in allegory,[12] we find the Ovid that we are concerned with, *Ovidius Ethicus, Theologus,* and *Magus,*[13] and in this connection our *Integumenta* by John of Garland seems to occupy a very prominent place.[14]

In a passage in his *Ars Lectoria Ecclesie,* Garland himself tells us, *inter alia,* that he wrote an *Integumenta.*[15] This work, written probably about 1234,[16] is in verse, and composed of

[8] Ovid was used for his language, his subject matter, and his doctrines of love. Cf. Schevill, *op. cit.*, pp. 14–27.

[9] Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship* . . . (Cambridge, 1903–1908) p. 614; cf. Schevill, *op. cit.*, p. 13, n. 19.

[10] Cf. Schevill, *op. cit.*, p. 12; de Nino, *Ovidio nella tradizione popolare di Sulmona* (Casalbordino, 1886), p. 21; and Nogara, *Di alcune vite e commenti mediaevali di Ovidio,* in *Miscellanea Ceriani,* 1910, p. 413.

[11] Sedlmayer, "Beiträge zur Geschichte der Ovidien Studien im Mittelalter," *Wien. Stud.*, VI (1884), 142–158.

[12] Cf. the references in Sedlmayer; in Runge, *Die Metamorphosenverdeutschung Albrechts von Halberstadt,* in *Palaestra,* LXXIII (1908), 102–103; Sudre, *Publii Ovidi Nasonis Metamorphoseon libros quomodo nostrates medii aevi poetae imitati interpretatique sunt,* Diss. (Paris, 1893), pp. 23–115; Schevill, *op. cit.*, p. 13; Rand, *Ovid and His Influence* (Boston, 1925), pp. 132–135; Wicksteed and Gardner, *Dante and Giovanni del Virgilio* (1902), App. I, pp. 314–321; cf. also the *Gesta Romanorum,* and the various *florilegia.*

[13] Rand, *op. cit.*, pp. 131–141.

[14] Cf. Bartsch, *op. cit.*, p. xliv: ". . . seine Auslegung ist dem Geist des Mittelalters gemäss allegorisch und moralisch. Er beginnt die Reihe der allegorischen Erklärer . . ."; Sudre, *op. cit.*, pp. 107–110; Paetow, *Morale Scolarium of John of Garland* . . . (Berkeley, 1927), pp. 116–118, with detailed bibliography.

[15] Paetow, *op. cit.*, p. 107: Integumenta canit alius ne philosofantem | fabula decipiat (Bruges MS. 546 fol. 76v.).

[16] Paetow, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

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260 elegiac distichs.[17] The meter is reasonably good, and the language essentially classical, although often strained, obscure and rhetorical. It forms part of a chain of thought that runs from the Empire to the Reformation.[18] The existence of ten manuscripts would argue for its "contemporary" acceptance and importance. Although long overlooked in more recent years, and long of doubted authorship,[19] the *Integumenta* is an excellent example of the methods of its day, and an important mirror of the "medieval mind."[20]

This *Integumenta* is an allegorical narrative, based on moral interpretation, for the purpose of expounding the Truth, as we learn from the work itself:

> fabula voce tenus, tibi palliat integumentum;
> causa doctrine res ibi vera latet.[21]

and from the glosses to the passage in the *Ars Lectoria* already referred to: *id est, allegoricas sententias super fabulas. et est Integumentum, veritas sub specie fabule palliata;*[22] and *spirituales intelligentias.*[23]

The interpretation, which is prefixed by a brief introduction on the writer's purpose:

> morphosis Ovidii parva cum clave Iohannis
> panditur, et presens cartula servit ei:
> nodos secreti denodat, clausa revelat;
> rarificat nebulas, integumenta canit.[24]

[17] In all but two MSS. there is a prose commentary on each of the books of the *Metamorphoses*, which is inserted at the appropriate points within the poem. This prose I have not yet examined. For a discussion on its authorship, see Paetow, *op. cit.*, pp. 117–118.

[18] Cf. Schevill, *op. cit.*, pp. 17; and 234–250.

[19] Cf. Paetow, *op. cit.*, p. 117, where he summarizes the material bearing on the confusion of John with other writers, and of the *Integumenta* with similar works.

[20] I hope some day to publish the text (now ready) of the *Integumenta* with introduction, notes, and translation.

[21] Lines 61–62.

[22] Bruges MS. 546, f. 76v.

[23] Brit. Mus. 15. A. xxxi, f. 72; and Cambridge 385, f. 139.

[24] Lines 5–8.

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and some general statements on the various forms of mutations (with their causes) in life, begins with the introduction to the first book of the *Metamorphoses*, and narrates, explains, or elaborates the material found there in systematic fashion to the end of the fifteenth book.[25] The only other personal element in the poem is the epilogue of two lines:

> stella michi niteat occasus nescia, finem
> dans rebus. finis sit sine fine michi.[26]

The Manuscripts

Before discussing the relationship of the manuscripts (p. 185), let me give a brief description of them here. The details will be found in the catalogues of the various libraries in which the manuscripts are located.

Oxford, Auct. F. 5. 16, pp. 161–204 (extends only to line 312), here designated A, is written in the semicursive script of the early fourteenth century with many ligatures and abbreviations. It contains the prose addition[27] and the subtitles which are written in the right hand margin, in the same hand.

British Museum, Royal MS. 12. E. xi, ff. 143v.–179v. (extends only to line 458), here designated B, is written in the semicursive hand of the fifteenth century with many arbitrary abbreviations. It contains the prose addition; but all subtitles are omitted.

[25] By far the greatest number (57) of the interpretations conclude with a distinct moral sermon, the bases for which vary greatly; and the degree to which the application is pressed is almost as varied. Next come the fanciful interpretations (36) which may perhaps be regarded as a subdivision of the first class; and those (28) that seem only to have an etiological purpose. Finally there are some (44) that seem to be purely narrative, and included merely for the sake of completeness or because they were interesting. The bases for these interpretations are not limited solely to the stories of mutations, but are also taken from the more or less incidental subjects of the narrative.

Garland seems to have used, at least part of the time, such sources as Isidore of Seville (*e.g.*, on *intiba* in 189–190), and the *Mythographi Latini* (*e.g.*, on Medusa in 251) for his etiology and allegory. The extent of his indebtedness or originality I have not determined as yet.

[26] Lines 519–520.

[27] Cf. p. 181, n. 17.

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Oxford, Canon. Lat. 9, ff. 152r.–167v., here designated C, is written in the Gothic script of the early fourteenth century, in two columns, with very many abbreviations. It contains the subtitles, which are added in the same script perhaps by a different scribe, as the ink seems to show,[28] and are often badly crowded in the short lines of the columns. Occasional addenda appear in the original hand and script, as at the bottom of 155v., col. 1, on Cadmus; and at the bottom of 158v., col. 1, on Lingua Quincuplex; and at the end of the work, a table of the subtitles, in proper sequence, divided according to the books of the *Metamorphoses*. Occasional marginal glosses—usually variants on a single word—appear, in the cursive script. Several long glosses in this script surround the last pages of prose (166v.).

Oxford, Digby 104, ff. 161r.–167r., here designated D, is written in the Gothic script of the thirteenth century, in two columns, with the usual arbitrary abbreviations of the period. It contains the prose, but omits all subtitles (except a very few which are added in the margin). Variants—suprascript or at the end of the line—are relatively frequent. In the second column of the last folio, after the subscription, there are 20 verses in smaller Gothic script, apparently by the corrector.

Oxford, Hatton 92, ff. 70v.–100r., here designated H, is written in large semicursive script of the fourteenth century with frequent abbreviations. The initial letter is elaborately decorated, and the same attempt at decoration is evidenced throughout by the underscoring of the subtitles (in the same hand) which are regularly prefixed by a reversed P (as are the first lines of each section). It contains the prose addition.

Leyden, MS. Voss. 46, ff. 7r.–9r., here designated L, is written in a modified Gothic of the fourteenth century, in two columns, with relatively few abbreviations. The prose is omitted; the subtitles are added (in very crowded form) by the original hand in the left margin in the recto folios, and the

[28] I have not seen the original MSS., but have used photostatic reproductions. In this particular MS. the titles appear much whiter than the text.

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right, in the verso folios. After the subscription at the end of the last verse, there follows a short piece of prose in the same (?) hand. The rest of the first column and all column two are blank.

Oxford, Merton 299, ff. 283r.–316v., here designated M, is written in a clear, regular, cursive book hand of the fourteenth century, with relatively few abbreviations. This manuscript seems not to have been examined before.[29] It contains the prose and the subtitles, which are in the original hand. The rest of the column below the subscription is filled with selections from Palladius, Asclepiades, and Eustenus, in the order named.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Latin 8008, ff. 153v.–159r., here designated P, is written in large Gothic script of the fourteenth century, with extremely few abbreviations. The prose is omitted, but the subtitles are found in the right hand margin. and by the same hand. The space below the subscription is left blank.

Reims 741, ff. 2r.–14r., here designated R, is written in the Gothic book script of the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, in two columns, with relatively few abbreviations. The script, which is uniformly good, changes to a more calligraphic hand in folio 7v. to 9r. The prose sections, with the exception of folio 2v., are in the semicursive informal script with many ligatures and abbreviations. The titles, which are entirely omitted after line 118, are found usually in the text, but occasionally in the left margin. There are no glosses or variants.

University of Prague, IX. c. 3, ff. 71b-83a, here designated U, is written, in two columns, in the semicursive book hand of the early fifteenth century, with many abbreviations. It contains the prose and the subtitles which are found in the text with no distinction for the first few folios, and then in the margin, in very crowded form. There are no variants. At

[29] See Paetow, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

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the end is a list of the subtitles, arranged in proper sequence, divided according to the books of the *Metamorphoses*.[30]

Relationship of the Manuscripts

The general relationship of four main groups of manuscripts can be determined on the basis of the various omissions and insertions of lines. D omits lines 449–450 from the text and adds them at the bottom of the next column; B omits them entirely. H and M omit lines 151–168 and insert them into the text after line 180. C and U omit 151–152, add four verses after 204, add two new verses after 206, add two new verses after 276, transpose 317–318 and 319–320, and 329–330 and 331–332, and omit 512–513. CUL are united in a larger group by the addition of two new verses after 210, and the transposition of lines 243–246 after 252 in UL. CUR are related by the transposition of 181–182 after 184. HMCULR are united into one group by the addition of two lines after 206 in HCLU. This evidence is substantiated by further material from the variant readings, the variants, the subtitles.

The relationship of H and M is supported by the following critical readings:[31]

Ceteri	*HM*
18 stat	fit
20 quid	que
28 terre	suta
33 cuncta	iuncta
35 estuat	exestuat
39 pererrat	perennat
113 philosophi	et phebi
116 cum dempto	condempto
119 est mundi	mundi est
120 philosophus	philo^{m}

[30] An examination of approximately 60 different MS. catalogues (comprising several hundred volumes) in the libraries of the Universities of California and Chicago failed to discover any additional manuscripts of this work.

[31] The column headed *Ceteri* represent the lemma; the second column, headed by the names of the MSS., designates the "wrong readings."

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122 resis	ieheis H iehesus M
123 horum	hora
131 tibi	quidam
133 quia	*om.*
148 et	*om.*
190 eriget	friget
201 eacus	catus
253 hec	hoc
268 fingitur	dicitur
290 sophocleo	soclopheo
327 fax	pax
327 videtur	*om.*
345 pars eius	persei
359 fuit	furit
391 est	*om.* (also DB)
398 vis	lux
403 nepharius	vesanus
409 sic	flos
495 porcos	partes

However, H cannot be copied from M because lines 331–332 are omitted in M, but are found in H; likewise, M cannot be copied from H because H adds two new lines after line 96 which are in no other manuscript, and with LU and C adds two more after line 206, followed by another couplet which is unique in H.

That U and C are closely related is readily shown from the following selected readings:

Ceteri	*UC*
41 ventus	ventis
70 eius	huius
87 misisse	genuisse
nimphas nimpha	mulieris femina
116 cum dempto	concepto U cōdēpto C
120 petit	facit U fac̄ C
133 hec	datus
161 duplex natura falerni	*om.*
170 praestigiat	instigat
224 surripuisse	supposuisse
235 te	et

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256 melpomone	melpone U melpōe C
270 fluxus	cursus
282 firma	fixa
365 vir virtute	hic vir virtute
397 gigantes	*om.*
400 anima	vita
425 aurum qui captat midas	midas qui captat aurum
430 aut	hanc
496 pomos	comas
509 epidaurius	esculapius

However, C cannot be copied from U, because it omits lines 209, 284, transposes 243–246 after 252, adds 245–246 after 276, and confuses the first half of 518 with the second half of 519; and because of variant readings in U which are not found in C.

Ceteri	*U*
125 hic ille	qui ille
163 est	*om.*
179 patet	que
360 ille	esse
370 perseus	sapiens
379 mulieris	mulieris mulieris

U cannot be copied from C, because in U (but not in C) lines 243–246 are transposed after 252, as in L, and the "coincidence" of such a transposition is highly improbable; and C repeats line 401 (although the first is ruled out); and the following selected readings peculiar to C are not found in U:

Ceteri	*C*
48 aquilo boream	boream aquilo
79 statuam	statuas
132 ursa	esse
191 vespere	nocte
221 germane	ḡmatice
330 et	*om.*
342 oraque patris	ora dum atris
380 vincit	aeicit
386 fructificatq;	fructificaq;

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396 corporeq;	corpore q̄
408 vir	cum
410 proprietate	condicione
414 versam	verti
422 et	*om.*
437 cum	*om.*
449 helenam	helenamq;
498 pectore	tempore
520 finis	finem

The following readings show CUL to be related:

Ceteri	*CUL*
8 rarificat	clarificat
29 mensio	mencio
146 et	diu C dum UL
213 lapidescunt	lapides sunt (CL)
275 cum danem	danem cum CL dane dum U
328 rite	arte UL
409 facta	facta est

However, neither C nor U can be copied from L because it omits all the prose, and L cannot be copied from either C or U because of the omissions listed above, which are not found in L.

That CUR are related is shown by the following readings:

Ceteri	*CUR*
8 rarificat	clarificat
29 mensio	mencio
35 estas estuat	estuat estas
145 phebus	phebum CR
183 nomine	nomina CR
270 fluxus	cursus
396 corporeq;	corpore que CR
454 viva	una CR

But neither C nor U can be copied from R because it omits lines 31, 86, 131–134, adds two verses after 72, and transposes 167–168 after 163; and R cannot be copied from C or U because of the omissions listed above.

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C and U are obviously much more closely related to each other than to either L or R, or than L and R are to each other.

HMCULR are related as a group, as is further evidenced below, but cannot be copied one from the other, for the evidence listed separately above.

Ceteri	*HMCLUR*
18 est	et
40 annos	annus HMCL annuuis R anus U
134 qui	que HMCU
267 intra	luna
271 quas	que HMCLR
340 ere cibo	ore cibos HMCR
346 pars fructibus	p. est f. HCLU
359 fuit	furit HMR
366 meruisse	metuisse
374 obstruit	obruit HMCLU
495 vertumpnus	vertunnus HMCR

That D and B are related is readily shown from the following selected readings:

Ceteri	*DB*
12 dum	dant
46 hincque	inde
62 causa	clausa
66 a	qua D *om.* B
84 phlegra	phlegra D (l inserted suprascript) phiegra B
107 tyrannos	draconem DB
111 pheton	phebus
144 vivificans	mundificans
148 valet	valet et
157 cervus	prius ceruus D primus cervus B
165 echo	echo (at end of line)
169 sevit	sevus
189 incuba	incuba corr. to intiba D intiba B
192 gentes	gigentes

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199 verba	membra (also A and L)
200 verba	membra
208 stratus	straçtus D stractus B
211 aut	aū D autem B
227 communeque	9veque D que; B
253 dircei AHMLCUR	cirtey
directa P	
289 tangis	tangiś D tangit B
312 virus	virtus D virtus B
325 efficitur	efficituṭ D
	efficit ut B
340 virtute	tuture D curcure B
367 superat	srat D sīlat B
370 hercules	h'clEs D h'ch's B
375 vincunt	mittunt (corrected at end of line to vincunt) D vincunt B
452 ovare	amare

D cannot be copied from B, because B omits lines 31–32, line 260, lines 449–450 (they are added in the margin in D; see above), and lines 459–520 (end). The variants of D (about 40) are by a later hand. It may possibly be established that B was copied from D (if we agree that some of the *corrections* were by the original scribe or at least before the copying of B) from the readings, given above, in lines 62, 66, 84, 208, 157, 189, 211, 227, 289, 312, 325, 370, 375. Here we should examine some readings which are puzzling in connection with the relationship which we have tried to show between D and B.

Ceteri	*D*	*B*
271 per quae	per huc *sscr.*	per que (BHMCLR)
293 calaisque	calais que (*sic*)	calaisq;
367 pugnantes	pugtes corr. to pugnaces	pugntes
440 infernum	inferrum (also HM)	infernum

Of these the first two are the most troublesome. In the first instance, we may perhaps explain the reading of B as an independent correction on the part of the scribe who could not

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construe the reading of D; in the second case the same explanation may hold, but it is equally possible that the scribe carelessly misread what he saw and wrote the *-que* in abbreviated form and so reached the right reading through accident. The third case offers no real difficulty. The last may be explained as confusion in copying—the letters are clear in D, but very close together.[31]

The following agreements of D and B with the family HMLCUR should be noted, although the evidence is probably insufficient to substantiate more than a coincidence.

Ceteri	*Variant*
116 cum dempto	cōdēpto DC concepto U
199 verba	membra DBALR
389 legis	legit BHM
391 est	*om.* DBHM
392 facta	mersa PR factu *sscr.* vel mersa D
497 scillam	cillam DL
498 saxea	tristia *sscr.* vel saxea D tristia L

In 389, the form in D is easily confusable: *legiſ*; in the last case the word *tristis* occurs at the beginning of the line.

P seems not to be related to any other manuscript of the group. No other could be copied from it (we may except L here) because it omits all the prose; and because it omits lines 129–134, 145–146, 149–150, 267–270, 283–284, 349, 503–504.

The following readings found in P are found elsewhere only in the group HMLCUR.

Ceteri	*Variant*
190 riget	sedet PLC
136 insedit	incedit PLU
65 affirmans	affirmas PR

[31] In discussing the possible relation of D and B, I have tried to present a complete and unbiased case for each point, including "coincidences." As I understand the evidence, there is nothing that would indisputably preclude the copying of B from D; I have accordingly shown that relation in the stemma.

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162 crus patris	cui pater PR
446 hos	bos PR
73 ubertas	libertas PRU
404 rotat	necat PRC
484 huc	hinc PRL
90 lapidum lapides	lapides lapidum P
	lapides lapide U
111 inde	idem PU
9–12	*om.* PL
139 ochiroe	galliroe P calliroe L
222 sunt artes septem DB	septem sunt artes PL
350 sed	*om.* PL
373 ydra sed	ydrius P ydreus L
410 pari	patet PL
435 noscitur	nascitur PL
484 illuc	illinc PL
487 mittuntur	mutantur PL
193 quo	qua PC (*sscr.* qua D)
309 speculativa	speculatura PC
378 ferum	ferit PC
275 lingua	ligua PM
398 quod	que PHM

Some of them may be explained on the ground of coincidence, but others seem to show some sort of relationship. Since the evidence discussed under the omission and insertion of lines, and the general readings of the text seem to show that P is not a part of the family of HMLCUR or of any member of it, the facts seem to point to an indirect influence from the parent of LCUR to P (if we agree that the cases in 275 and 398 are coincidences). The omission of 9–12 by PL is very bothersome; but since P omits many lines which all the other manuscripts have, and does not have the other omissions and insertions of L, it may be only a coincidence here.[32]

We may note in passing the coincidence in 463 unicus] unius PD.

[32] This is the *crux* in the stemma, but from the evidence given (which is complete) I cannot understand a more explicit connection for P.

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A seems not to be related to any other manuscript of the group. No other could be copied from it because lines 313–520 (end) are omitted.[33] Such variants as do agree with other manuscripts are almost entirely matters of spelling, or ready confusion of abbreviations.

Ceteri	*Variants*
7 revelat	revolvit AD (corr. to revelait)
66 celestesq;	celestisq;
123 horae DBHMLR	partes APCU
134 qui	que HMCU q̃ A
145 phebus	phebum ACR
183 nomine	nomina APCR
199 verba	membra ADBLR
222 sunt artes septem DBR	septem sunt artes PL sunt septem artes AHMCU
307 pirithous L perithous C pyrithous P pyritous DB	pirothous AHM

The case in 199 can be explained through confusion of the same abbreviation by the several scribes (in 200 DB repeat the error); that in 134 in the same way. In 183 the change of *nomine* to *nomina* by three scribes (if we grant that P got it from C or R) is perhaps a coincidence—the form seemed to be needed to furnish the substantive for the *singula*; the case in 145 is perhaps the same—the proximity of the preceding verb caused the accusative to be suggested to the scribes. The others are more difficult to explain. In 222 the situation may perhaps be explained by the omission of *septem* from the line in the archetype, and insertion suprascript or marginal.

[33] After 312 it has the prose commentary that the others have, but breaks off at the word *nepote*, which ends the last line of the page. The new page begins with the prose commentary (which in the other MSS. follows after 180), which breaks off with the word *captus* (about in the middle of the passage). A new subject starts on the new page. The numbering is consecutive as the MS. now stands.

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This was misread by A and by the parent of HMLCUR; L corrected the reading found in his subarchetype (which will not scan), and P followed (it is possible that P made an independent change—or error). In 123 the reading of the majority of the manuscripts is unmetrical (but it must be admitted that Garland is free in his use of such irregularly lengthened syllables in conjunction with the main pause in the line, as we have already shown); there seems to have been a variant or a correction in the common archetype at this point: *Hore* was written in the line and *partes* written either as a gloss or correction. A copied the correction; D copied the original and the suprascript; B copied the text from D; the common parent of HMLCUR copied both, as did the subarchetype of LCUR; L copied the original; C, the correction (which was later glossed by the original); U, the original; R, the gloss; and HM copied the original. In 7 perhaps the explanation is somewhat the same. The correct reading, *revelat,* was glossed by *revolvit.* This was copied as a substitute by A and by D who corrected back to the original; the others all retained the original. However, since only two manuscripts are involved in this case, it may be pure coincidence, an independent error by two scribes—*revolvit* is the *lectio facilior.* In 307 the spelling of the proper name *Pirithous* shows great variety; in 447 BH read *pirothous* and D reads *pirotous.* The second example would tend to support the possibility of mere coincidence in line 307.

There remain to be considered several criteria that have been reserved to the end (instead of considering them in their logical order) because of their different nature.

First among these are the subtitles, whose evidence must be received cautiously, since the titles are often written in the margins (PALU), or crowded over the end of the line (C), and therefore exposed to spontaneous variation. They are omitted entirely in both D and B, with the exception of about 25 (mainly in the last 100 lines of the poem) in D. These agree in almost every case with the reading of these titles in the majority of the manuscripts. For the first 150 lines D leaves a

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space of one line between each group; after that the change is indicated only by the usual paragraph sign prefixed to each group, except where the few titles have been added. B also leaves spacing between groups for the first 150 lines, but after that makes no distinction.

The titles following lines 66, 72, 74, 110, 116, 118, 126, 128, 144, 176, 186, 234, 236, 242, 332, 370, 372, 404, 437, 448, 458, 482, 504, 510, *et al.*, of which a few selected examples only are given below, substantiate the general relationship of H and M, but give no additional help.

Ceteri	*HM*
66 de primo tempore	after line 71
110 de phetone	de phebo
144 *om.*	de mercurio et phebo
242 de pegaso fonte casside palladis et hasta	de fonte pegaso casside et hasta palladis
448 de cigno achille ceneo	de cigno

The titles following lines 12, 18 (CUP), 72, 144, 146, 182, 184, 186, 198, 284, 406, 458 help to substantiate the relationship of C and U.

Ceteri	*CU*
72 integumentum	integumentum de saturno
144 *om.*	de perseo qui furatus est boves phebi
198 de tribus furiis inferni	de furiis infernalibus

The titles following lines 87 (HMCUL), 200 (UL), 215 (UL), 224, 278 (HMCUL), 368, 372, 388, 496 (UL) connect CUL.

Ceteri	*CUL*
368 de aureis pomis athlantis	de aureis pomis
388 de thebaica historia	de thebana historia

CUR agree in the title after line 18; and R and L in that after 108. U omits many titles, and R omits all after line 118. The relationship of the group HMCULR is further substanti-

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ated by the titles following lines 87 (HMCUL), 94 (MCL), 108 (MHC), 158 (HMLC), 160 (LM), 182, 232 (HML), 252 (HMLC), 278, 282 (HMC), 320 (HMLC), 336 (HMLC), 336 (HMLC), 346 (HMU), 362 (HMC), 400 (HMC), 424 (HMCL), 434 (HML), 488 (HMC), 498 (HMCL), 500 (HMLC). In this connection we should perhaps remember that the titles of C seem to be by a later hand.

	Ceteri	*HMCLUR*
108	de syringa quae est instrumentum phisicorum	d.s.q.e.i. musicorum
282	*om.*	de satiro
346	de hercule et iunone et suis actibus	de hercule
424	*om.*	de mida

Occasionally titles appear in only one manuscript; *e.g.* after line 8 in H, after 52 in C, after 92 in L; or a variant on the common title is found substituted in only one manuscript; *e.g.* after line 118 in C.

The evidence of the titles does not change the apparent independence of both P and A from any other of the manuscripts. In almost all cases the reading of a title in A agrees with P against variants in other manuscripts; and when it does differ, it is mainly in the omission of a part of a long title, *e.g.* after line 54; or careless omission of the complete title, *e.g.* after line 170, in which it may be unique, *e.g.* after line 307, or in association with one or more others, *e.g.* after 170 and 176; or where P contains an independent error, *e.g.* after 158. Since DB omit all titles, and HMLCUR form a group, no help can be deduced from A's associations in these differences. One title (after line 78) is of especial interest: *de illo qui primo formavit statuam* HML (*f.p.s.* L) C (*s.f. versus* C); *fecit statuam* P; *formavit et fecit* A. The *fecit* links A and P; but A also has the *formavit* of HMLCUR. Since we have seen that A and P cannot be copied one from the other, and there is no evidence of a mutual subarchetype, it would seem

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that the single archetype had at this point a variant, of which P chose one reading, the subarchetype of HMLCUR, the other, and A, both.

Next are the variants, suprascript or marginal. By far the greatest number are found in D and C, with about 40 and 50, respectively.

Most of the variants in D are found in the text of one or more manuscripts. Those that are merely corrections of a mistake in the writing of the first text are not included here; the others are:[34] 107, 123 (ACU), 157, 229, 271 (P), 272, 280 (AHM), 294 (AP), 314, 335, 367, 369, 375 (also B), 383, 392 (PU), 440 (P), 448 (P), 452, 454, 467 (original = P), 471, 498. The variants that are not found in the readings of the other manuscripts are:

Ceteri	*Variant*
24 reddit	retrahit
280 famaque	nomine
351 ydre	ydris
359 predo tutus	predaturus
?367 pugtes	pugnaces
427 certant	cantant
447 dum mens	demens
500 missa	mersa

Many of the variants in C are also found in the text of the other manuscripts; they are (mere corrections are again omitted): 8, 18, 19, 43, 125, 158 (U), 170, 226 (R), 265, 271 (L), 297, 342, 356, 369, 383, 392, 397, 400, 410, 414 (L), 497, 509. Those that are not found in the readings of other manuscripts are given herewith:

Ceteri	*C*	*Variant*
29 proportio	proportio	vel propriatio
46 teque	teque	atque
100 calliditate	calliditate	sedulitate
111 dicetur	dicetur	valet

[34] In the following enumerations of variants, the variant is the reading found in all the other MSS. (*e.g.* 107) unless the separate ones are indicated (*e.g.* 123).

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121 nitet	nitet	vetit
212 petunt	petunt	perdunt
219 ramus	ramus	taurus
227 nomen	nomen	tribus *add.*
302 quod	quod	ut *sscr.*
355 pugnat	pugnat	viget
440 minuit	mutat	metuit
442.emperica	emperica	emphitica
443 lascivus	lascivis	lascivens
446 primo	primo	s *sscr.*
464 qua	quam	quo
476 rite	rite	arte
505 nocturna	nocturna	activa
511 reluxit	treluxit	revixit

The variants in the remaining manuscripts are very few. In L those in lines 29, 246, 271, and 302 are found elsewhere; those in 23 alter] vel alterum; 40 renata] vel no *sscr.*; 139 usum] visus *sscr.* vel unde; 304 coctus] cohitus vel tectus, are not found elsewhere. In M the one variant (if we except the correction in 328) is in 160, meri] *sscr.* vel viri, which is not found in the other manuscripts. The only variant in H is a correction in 448. There are two variants in P: 450 honor] amor vel honor; 490 manent] nocent vel manent.

Finally there are the title and the subscriptions to be considered. D, B, and P are without title; A, L, C, U, and R are each different; only H and M have the same: *Johannes de Garlandia.* The subscriptions vary (A and B, which are incomplete, and C have none) with each manuscript. There is obviously no help to be gained from either of these criteria.

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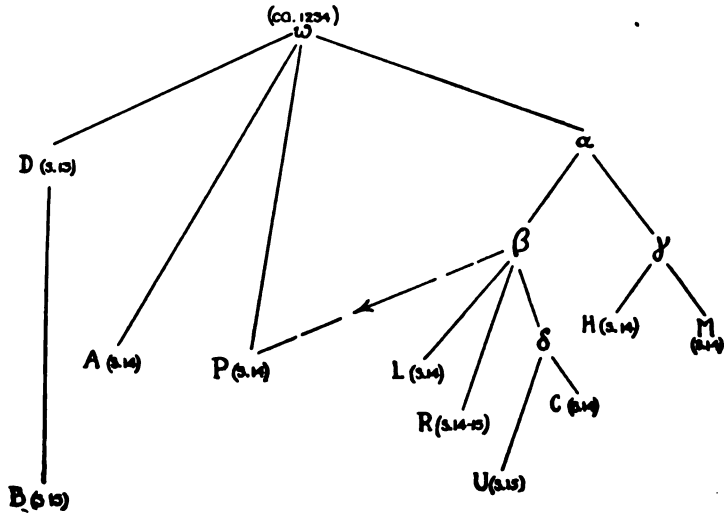
The evidence deduced from the readings given above shows the following relationship of the ten manuscripts of the *Integumenta*.



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XIII.—*The Distinctive Character of Enjambement in Homeric Verse*

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> . . . *true musical delight . . . which consists only in apt numbers, fit quantity of syllables, and the sense variously drawn out from one verse into another* . . . —Milton in the introduction to *Paradise Lost.*

The reader of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* soon comes to mark in them, as a part of the larger movement of the thought, the way in which the sense passes from verse to verse. The impression is sharp, and yet it is very hard to place, for it comes partly from the joining of single verses, and partly from the sum of many verses. My wish, in these pages, is to bring into greater clearness this feature of Homeric style.

* * *

Seeking to clarify dim ideas one first thinks of the broader attempts made to set forth the order of thought in the Homeric sentence. There is Matthew Arnold's remark: " . . . he is eminently plain and direct, both in the evolution of his thought and in the expression of it, that is, both in his syntax and in his words."[1] But there are ways and ways of being plain and direct. As so often in the course of the well known essay, one regrets that Arnold did not keep the Greek more in view; and this regret deepens when, a few pages further on, he explains that rhyme is unsuited to a translation of Homer since it "inevitably tends to pair lines which in the original are independent," for here he shows how exact a notion he had of the movement of the Greek. M. Maurice Croiset does go straight to Homer's language: "Complicated groupings of ideas are absolutely unknown to Homeric poetry. . . . The ordinary

[1] *On translating Homer* (1861).

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law of this naive and clear style is juxtaposition. When, contrary to custom, the sentence happens to grow long, the successive ideas join on to one another in the order that they occur to the mind."[2] Still I believe that one who wishes to know the exact artifice of words will be led even more surely by a brief sentence of Denis of Halicarnassus: ". . . the thought which follows is unperiodic, though it is expressed in clauses and phrases."

This critic of the Augustan age, in the closing chapter of his essay *On the Ordering of Words*, wishes to show how by the use of enjambement and of word groups of varying lengths good poetry takes on a certain likeness to good prose, and as an example he cites a passage from the *Odyssey* which he divides thus:

ξ 1 αὐτὰρ ὅ γ' ἐκ λιμένος προσέβη τρηχεῖαν ἀταρπόν |
χῶρον ἂν ὑλήεντα | δι' ἄκριας | ᾗ οἱ Ἀθήνη
πέφραδε δῖον ὑφορβόν | ὅ οἱ βιότοιο μάλιστα
κήδετο οἰκήων οὓς κτήσατο δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς. |
τὸν δ' ἄρ' ἐνὶ προδόμῳ εὗρ' ἥμενον | ἔνθα οἱ αὐλὴ
ὑψηλὴ δέδμητο | περισκέπτῳ ἐνὶ χώρῳ |
καλή τε μεγάλη τε | περίδρομος.

Denis, while quoting these verses, keeps pointing out that the word groups have different lengths, and that some of them run over from one line to another, and it is with the sources of the "prosaic" movement of the style equally in mind that he says, after quoting the clause ἔνθα οἱ αὐλὴ ὑψηλὴ δέδμητο, "Further, the thought which follows is unperiodic, though it is expressed in clauses and phrases. For having added περισκέπτῳ ἐνὶ χώρῳ he again adds καλή τε μεγάλη τε, an expression which is shorter than a clause, and after that περίδρομος, a word that in itself has a certain idea."[3] Luckily we do not have to tell

[2] *Histoire de la littérature grecque*[3] (Paris, 1910), I, p. 264.

[3] Chap. XXVI, p. 274 f. κἄπειτα ὁ ἑξῆς νοῦς ἀπερίοδος ἐν κώλοις τε καὶ κόμμασι λεγόμενος· ἐπιθεὶς γὰρ "περισκέπτῳ ἐνὶ χώρῳ," πάλιν ἐποίσει "καλή τε μεγάλη τε" βραχύτερον κώλου κομμάτιον, εἶτα "περίδρομος" ὄνομα καθ' ἑαυτὸ νοῦν τινα ἔχον. The text is cited after the edition of W. R. Roberts: *Dionysius of Halicarnassus on Literary Composition* (London, 1910).

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apart here *clause, phrase,* and *expression.*[4] Since we shall have to do with them only as they are used unperiodically, we may take them, as well as *the word that in itself has a certain idea,* as longer and shorter word groups. The period, it may be well to remark, does not have to be a sentence which cannot be brought to a close before its end, although it very often is such; rather it is one in which there is a planned balance of the thought.[5] The unperiodic sentence is one which lacks this balance and in which, to cite Denis, "the clauses are not made like one another in form or sound, and are not enslaved to a strict sequence, but are noble, brilliant, and free."[6] That is, the ideas are added on to one another, in what Aristotle calls the *running* style.[7] This force of the term *unperiodic* is made clear by the sentence for which Denis uses it here: though the whole thought is formed by the sum of the word groups, yet it is not a thought whose parts are closely bound together; it contains several ideas which have been added to one another, and which could not be foreseen, were not even looked for, until each one was told.

It is not the place here to say how well the words of Denis fit Homeric style as a whole. The passage is useful now since it gives us a means of grouping by a fixed and worthy plan the kinds of enjambement[8] in Homer, and also since it shows us

[4] So I translate *κῶλον*, *κόμμα*, and *κομμάτιον*. On these terms see W. R. Roberts: *op. cit.*, pp. 307 f., 306, and L. Laurand: *Études sur le style des discours de Cicéron*[2] (Paris, 1926), pp. 135–140.

[5] Aristotle, *Rhet.* III, 9, 2.

[6] Chap. XXII, p. 212, ll. 7 ff. *οὔτε πάρισα βούλεται τὰ κῶλα ἀλλήλοις εἶναι οὔτε παρόμοια οὔτε ἀναγκαίᾳ δουλεύοντα ἀκολουθίᾳ, ἀλλ' εὐγενῆ καὶ λαμπρὰ καὶ ἐλεύθερα.*

[7] *Rhet.* 1409 a 24. *ἡ εἰρομένη λέξις*; literally, "the strung style," as one strings beads or a garland.

[8] I use the term *enjambement* by itself in its largest sense, that of the running over of the sentence from one line to another. The word is often used by writers on prosody with the narrower force which it originally had, that of the running over of a group of closely joined words. In this sense enjambement is a thing of degree, so that the force of the word depends upon where it is used. I have thought it best to use special terms for these different ways in which the sentence can run over: *unperiodic enjambement, necessary enjambement,* and so on, terms which will be defined as they come up.

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the aims of our search: to seize more surely the way in which the thought of the poet unfolds from verse to verse, and to feel more truly the rhythm which he has given to the hexameter in fitting to it the pattern of his thought.

* * *

Broadly there are three ways in which the sense at the end of one verse can stand to that at the beginning of another. First, the verse end can fall at the end of a sentence and the new verse begin a new sentence. In this case there is no enjambement. Second, the verse can end with a word group in such a way that the sentence, at the verse end, already gives a complete thought, although it goes on in the next verse, adding free ideas by new word groups. To this type of enjambement we may apply Denis' term *unperiodic*. Third, the verse end can fall at the end of a word group where there is not yet a whole thought, or it can fall in the middle of a word group; in both of these cases enjambement is *necessary*.

We must know how often the verses join in each of these ways, taking up enough examples to gain a clear notion of how they differ. We must also see how strongly the various forms of enjambement mark the end of the hexameter, and in doing this we shall have to see what force should be given the break in the rhythm at the end of certain verses. And we shall do well to see whether Homer's practice in this matter is like or unlike that of other poets using the same verse form. Apollonius and Virgil, since they have used the hexameter likewise for heroic tales, and since their worth is the greatest along with that of Homer in this field, are our best choice.

* * *

To know where there is no enjambement we must gauge the sentence. The varying punctuation of our texts, usually troublesome, will not do. I define the sentence as any independent clause or group of clauses introduced by a coordinate conjunction or by asyndeton; and by way of showing that this definition is fitting I would point out that the rhetoricians paid

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little heed to the sentence as we understand it: for them the unit of style was the clause, and the only group of clauses of which Aristotle speaks is the period. Using this standard we can group together those verses which as a group are marked by the sharpest break at the end, and which thus bring out most cleanly the rhythm of the latter part of the hexameter.[9] This break, it should be noted, varies with the sense in each case,

[9] The conclusions of this essay are based on the analysis of six passages of one hundred lines each from the *Iliad*, and the same number of lines from the *Odyssey*, the *Argonautica*, and the *Aeneid*. The verses chosen were the following: A E I N P Φ, 1–100; α ε ι ν ρ φ, 1–100; *Arg.* I, 1–100; I, 681–780; II, 1–100; III, 1–100; IV, 1–100; IV, 889–988 (ed. Merkel, Leipzig, 1913); *Aen.* I, III, IV, VII, IX, XI, 1–100. The results of the analysis are as follows. (In column I are the verses which end with the sentence; in column II those verses which are followed by unperiodic enjambement; in column III those verses after which enjambement is necessary.)

Iliad	I	II	III	*Odyssey*	I	II	III
A 1–100	48	31	21	α 1–100	35	33	32
E 1–100	50	24	26	ε 1–100	50	30	20
I 1–100	52	18	30	ι 1–100	46	21	33
N 1–100	48	31	21	ν 1–100	43	30	27
P 1–100	48	19	33	ρ 1–100	55	14	31
Φ 1–100	45	27	28	φ 1–100	40	32	28
Average	48.5	24.8	26.6		44.8	26.6	28.5

Argonautica	I	II	III	*Aeneid*	I	II	III
I 1–100	31	18	51	I 1–100	36	11	53
I 681–780	38	20	42	III 1–100	40	16	44
II 1–100	33	15	52	V 1–100	37	12	50
III 1–100	41	14	45	VII 1–100	33	13	55
IV 1–100	35	13	52	IX 1–100	45	11	44
IV 889–988	31	16	53	XI 1–100	38	13	49
Average	34.8	16	49.1		38.3	12.5	49.2

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being made up in varying portions of time and of intensity. It is rather one of time in α 10–11, where the voice pauses before passing from prologue to story. It is rather one of intensity in A 24–25, where one passes quickly to the contrast of the following sentence.

In Homer nearly one half of the verses finish where the sentence ends: this is the first of the cases where we shall find the ordering of Homer's thought throwing the rhythm into relief. In Apollonius and in Virgil the number is somewhat less. These poets, here closely alike, have about four such verses to Homer's five. But this is not in itself a striking difference: over a length of a hundred lines the practice in Homer can be almost the same as in Virgil, and such a passage as N 64–76, where ten out of thirteen verses end with the sentence, is nearly equalled by *Aeneid*, v, 70–79, where seven out of ten verses end in this way.

There is more difference between Homer and the later poets in the use of verses which hold just a sentence, or in some cases two sentences, and which are notable since they best show the measure of the hexameter set off by itself. One meets such verses in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* about every fifth or sixth line, which is about twice as often as in the *Argonautica* or the *Aeneid*.[10] Yet here too the practice of the three poets often meets. Even in the use of series of these verses, especially longer series of three, four, or five which are much more common in Homer, one does not have a difference which is striking; and the fact that some of these longer series do occur in Apollonius and Virgil would show that these poets had no special thought of avoiding them. A group of six sentence verses seems to be found only in Homer:

I 26 ἀλλ' ἄγεθ', ὡς ἂν ἐγὼ εἴπω πειθώμεθα πάντες·
φεύγωμεν σὺν νηυσὶ φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν·
οὐ γὰρ ἔτι Τροίην αἱρήσομεν εὐρυάγυιαν.

[10] In the verses examined the number of verses containing just a sentence or just two sentences, and the average number of lines between occurrences, is as follows: *Il.* 117 (19.5), *Od.* 91 (15.2), *Arg.* 44 (7.3), *Aen.* 59 (9.7).

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Ὣς ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἀκὴν ἐγένοντο σιωπῇ.
δὴν δ' ἄνεωι ἦσαν τετιηότες υἷες Ἀχαιῶν·
ὀψὲ δὲ δὴ μετέειπε βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Διομήδης·

But one finds groups of four or five such verses in both Apollonius and Virgil.[11] It is clear, in the matter of the verse which ends with the sentence, or which holds just a sentence, that the three poets all felt the need, or the fittingness, of bringing out the rhythm of the end of the hexameter, and of the hexameter as a whole.

* * *

One may group under four headings the various means by which Homer can continue beyond the end of a verse a sentence which, at that point, already gives a whole thought. First, he can add a free verbal idea, using a dependent clause, a participial phrase, or a genitive absolute:[12]

α 4 πολλὰ δ' ὅ γ' ἐν πόντωι πάθεν ἄλγεα ὃν κατὰ θυμόν
ἀρνύμενος ἥν τε ψυχὴν καὶ νόστον ἑταίρων.

The second means of unperiodic enjambement is the addition of an adjectival idea, that is, one describing a noun found in the foregoing verse.[13]

A 1 Μῆνιν ἄειδε, θεά, Πηληιάδεω Ἀχιλῆος
οὐλομένην, ἣ μυρί' Ἀχαιοῖς ἄλγε' ἔθηκε,

Third, the added idea may be adverbial, dwelling more fully on the action named in the foregoing verse. This idea is usually expressed by a phrase, sometimes by a simple adverb:[14]

A 14 στέμμα τ' ἔχων ἐν χερσὶν ἑκηβόλου Ἀπόλλωνος
χρυσέωι ἀνὰ σκήπτρωι,

[11] Groups of four verses, A 53–56, E 19–22, φ 82–85, *Arg.* III, 30–33; of five verses, I 52–56, Φ 71–75, *Aen.* IX, 11–15; of six verses, I 26–31.

[12] A 5, 10, 22, 27, 60, 63, 64, 69, 90, 95. α 29, 34, 38, 40, 65, 89, 93, 94, etc. A 12, 13, 20, 26, 30, 44. α 4, 24, 36, 37, 72, etc. A 46, φ 69, etc.

[13] A 1, 98. α 7, 48, 53, 96, 99, etc. α 22, 50, 51, 69, 71, 86, 100, etc. A 3, E 16, 93.

[14] A 14, 29. α 14, 17, 18, 19, 23, 49, 61, 70, etc.

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This type of unperiodic enjambement is less usual than the two given before, as is the next. This last means is that of adding by a coordinate conjunction a word or phrase or clause of the same grammatical structure as one in the foregoing verse:[15]

A 4 αὐτοὺς δὲ ἑλώρια τεῦχε κύνεσσιν
οἰωνοῖσί τε πᾶσι,

Such are the forms of unperiodic enjambement. I have described them at length since they, more than anything else, give the rhythm in Homer its special movement from verse to verse. This is so, first, because they occur twice as often in Homer as in Apollonius or Virgil, about once in four lines in the one, and once in eight lines in the others;[9] and this difference in number, added to that noted for verses which end with the sentence, leaves room for the equally different use of necessary enjambement to which we shall come in turn. But the forms of unperiodic enjambement color the Homeric rhythm even more because, when used with a formulaic diction, they give rise to a very special kind of break at the verse end. It is the place here to deal with this fact that the use of set phrases by Homer is closely bound up with the way in which his verses join. In doing so we shall not only see how in certain cases words distributed between two verses should be grouped, but we shall also learn why this and the other types of enjambement have been used in different measures by Homer and by the later poets.

* * *

The action of the formula upon the movement cannot be better shown than by setting side by side the prologues of the *Odyssey* and the *Aeneid*; and it may be said in passing that there are few passages which show more clearly than these two how thoroughly Virgil had filled himself with sense of his *exemplarium Graecum*. Virgil has modeled his movement upon Homer in the following way. His first verse begins with a principal clause (where *virum* and *cano* recall ἄνδρα and ἔννεπε),

[15] A 4, 15, 37, 62, 94. ε 45, 63, 65, etc.

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and finishes with the first part of a relative clause which runs on into the next verse. *litora* in the third line is a run over word as πλάγχθη is in the second.[16] Virgil begins his second sentence quite as Homer does with *multum ille* . . . , and this is echoed by *multa quoque* . . . , in the same way that the sentence πολλῶν δ' . . . is echoed by πολλὰ δὲ . . . . The added participial phrase ἀρνύμενος ἥν τε ψυχὴν καὶ νόστον ἑταίρων is replaced in Virgil by a relative clause with the same temporal force: *dum conderet urbem inferretque deos Latio*, where the double predicate of the Greek has suggested that of the Latin. Finally, the enjambement after the fourth verse of the *Odyssey* has been the model of that after the third verse of the *Aeneid*:

πολλὰ δ' ὅ γ' ἐν πόντωι πάθεν ἄλγεα ὃν κατὰ θυμόν
ἀρνύμενος ἥν τε ψυχὴν καὶ νόστον ἑταίρων

multum ille et terris iactatus et alto
vi superum

Yet there is a difference. Homer has spoken first of the wanderings, then of the sufferings of Ulysses, and finally he says that they took place while he was trying to save his life and bring his comrades home. In the *Aeneid*, in spite of the Homeric movement which has been given to *iactatus*, the reader joins it very closely with *vi*. Virgil does not say first that his hero was buffeted about land and sea, and then add as an altogether free thought that it was by the might of the gods; he says almost that the might of the gods buffeted him about land and sea. The end of the verse after *alto* marks almost no break, and the editors put no mark of punctuation there. I say "almost" since *iactatus* gives a whole idea and the enjambement is unperiodic. The word is not one which takes the reader into the next verse for his understanding of it, as happens for example in the twentieth verse of the *Argonautica*, where the enjambement has been suggested by the prologue of the *Iliad*:

[16] In the same way Apollonius runs his first sentence over into the second verse by μνήσομαι.

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νῦν δ' ἂν ἐγὼ γενεήν τε καὶ οὔνομα μυθησαίμην
ἡρώων

Here γενεήν τε καὶ οὔνομα are without meaning until ἡρώων is reached, and the enjambement is necessary, not unperiodic as in its model:

A 3 πολλὰς δ' ἰφθίμους ψυχὰς Ἄιδι προίαψεν
ἡρώων

where ἡρώων has almost the same force as οὐλομένην two lines above. The case in Virgil is not like this: the sentence might be ended with the verse, and the verse end does mark a break in the rhythm. But it is much slighter than that after δν κατὰ θυμόν. It is even slighter than the break after E 16:

Τυδείδεω δ' ὑπὲρ ὦμον ἀριστερὸν ἤλυθ' ἀκωκὴ
ἔγχεος,

And yet here the thought in itself would seem much more close set.

We join ἔγχεος more loosely to what has gone before than we do *vi superum* only because we have formed the habit of reading Homer by a fixed pattern. The reader of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, passing more slowly and with less ease through the same stages as the man who listened to the tales of the Singers, gradually forms in himself what may be called a *sense of the formula.* Meeting over and over the same group of words expressing the same idea, he comes to look on this group of words as a whole which has a fixed end. And the more he becomes used to these formulas, the more he ceases to read Homer as he would a writer who uses his own words and seldom uses them over. He does not go ahead word by word until the sentence ends. He reads by formulas; that is, since the technique of formulas is basically one of making verses out of traditional groups of words, he reads by word groups. He usually comes to do this first for the verses which introduce speech. Verse formulas such as τὸν δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα ποδάρκης δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς, which

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strangely had at first seemed one of the most bizarre features of Homer's style, soon become a simple *Achilles answered*, and so he reads on into the sentence knowing just what it will say and sure that it will end with the verse. As a rule he is not this sure that the sentence will end with the verse; then although he brings the thought to a close at the end of the verse he will not do it so finally, knowing that other word groups may be added to the sentence; yet he does finish the thought with the verse, and whatever comes after is joined to an already whole thought. This is the case with one of the verse formulas used to tell how a spear strikes. There are in Homer the following lines where ἤλυθ' ἀκωκή ends the sentence:

E 66 ἡ δὲ διαπρὸ
ἀντικρὺ κατὰ κύστιν ὑπ' ὀστέον ἤλυθ' ἀκωκή·

P 49 = X 327 = χ 16 ἀντικρὺ δ' ἀπαλοῖο δι' αὐχένος ἤλυθ' ἀκωκή,

It is the memory either of these verses, or of others telling a like act by a like movement, that leads the reader to close the thought in E 16 also at the verse end, so that ἔγχεος in the next verse becomes "a word that in itself has a certain idea," like οὐλομένην and ἠρώων in A 2 and 4. It is not a word which has much weight; it is indeed almost colorless. I would describe its force by saying that its length marks a rest during which the mind lingers on the already finished thought of the foregoing verse. Nor does this at all mean that there should be a comma after ἀκωκή in E 16; there is no pause of time there. The break in the rhythm comes solely from the fact that the mind, going from formula to formula, has closed the circle of the idea with ἀκωκή, and has placed ἔγχεος next to, but outside of this circle. οὐλομένην and ἠρώων have of course more color: such run over words have in common that they dwell upon an already finished idea, but their weight comes from their meaning.

At times the memory of the formula may be even more cut out word for word than in the case just cited. The enjambement after α 7 has its special unperiodic movement because we read the verse on the pattern we have from κ 437 or Δ 409:

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α 7 αὐτῶν γὰρ σφετέρῃσιν ἀτασθαλίῃσιν ὄλοντο
νήπιοι

κ 437 τούτου γὰρ καὶ κεῖνοι ἀτασθαλίῃσιν ὄλοντο.

But more often the memory is less one of certain words and more one of a certain ordering of ideas. The pattern of the latter part of the following verse may be given as verb—Ἴλιον εἴσω:

P 159 αἴψά κε Πάτροκλον ἐρυσαίμεθα Ἴλιον εἴσω.

and it is this basic pattern which leads us to close the thought at the end of A 71:

καὶ νήεσσ' ἠγήσατ' Ἀχαιῶν Ἴλιον εἴσω
ἣν διὰ μαντοσύνην, τήν οἱ πόρε Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων·

Likewise one breaks the sentence at the end of α 4 partly because one knows verses where the sentence ends with ὃν κατὰ θυμόν, partly because one has read other verses where the sentence ends with a shorter phrase for the idea "to suffer woes," such as N 670 H:

νοῦσον τε στυγερήν, ἵνα μὴ πάθοι ἄλγεα θυμῷι.

In other cases of unperiodic enjambement neither the *Iliad* nor the *Odyssey*, nor any other verses we have of the epos, give us any example of the word group which ends the verse being used elsewhere to end the sentence. ἐλώρια τεῦχε κύνεσσιν has no special likeness with any other phrase in Homer, and yet one finishes the thought at its end in A 4:

αὐτοὺς δὲ ἐλώρια τεῦχε κύνεσσιν
οἰωνοῖσί τε πᾶσι,

We do not join these verses at all in the same way as we do verses 5 and 6 or 6 and 7 of the *Aeneid*:

Multa quoque et bello passus, dum conderet urbem
inferretque deos Latio, genus unde Latinum
Albanique patres atque altae moenia Romae.

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The form of the enjambement is the same in the three cases: by using a coordinate conjunction the poet adds on a group of words with the same grammatical structure as a phrase in the foregoing verse. Yet in reading Virgil we rightly do not look for the thought to end with the verse; we go on to find a planned balance of ideas. We read "while he was founding a city and bringing gods to Latium," a sentence in which the two word groups set off each other. In Homer however we read "and made them prey for dogs, and for the birds of heaven too," making the second word group simply repeat the idea of the first. The enjambement after *genus unde Latinum* is even more clearly of the kind which, though unperiodic in structure, yet really looks beyond the verse end. This first word group names the first of the three epochs of Rome's history, and far from closing the thought after *Latinum* we go on to the second step of a well planned sequence. The full difference can be felt if one puts beside these verses of Virgil a passage from the *Iliad*:

I 80 ἐκ δὲ φυλακτῆρες σὺν τεύχεσιν ἐσσεύοντο
ἀμφί τε Νεστορίδην Θρασυμήδεα ποιμένα λαῶν
ἠδ' ἀμφ' Ἀσκάλαφον καὶ Ἰάλμενον υἷας Ἄρηος
ἀμφί τε Μηριόνην Ἀφαρῆά τε Δηΐπυρόν τε
ἠδ' ἀμφὶ Κρείοντος υἱὸν Λυκομήδεα δῖον.

The flavor of this sentence comes from its fulness, which makes of it a "catalogue," yet this fulness is gained only by the addition of ideas. No one verse looks forward to any other; each one comes to give us a free idea, since we have each time closed the thought at the end of the foregoing verse. But in Virgil we do not do this: we read on, having no desire to end the sentence until a new one begins. Now to come back to our first example, it is true that we have the memory of no other sentences to make us limit the thought with ἐλώρια τεῦχε κύνεσσιν; but guided so often elsewhere by the pattern of the formulas we have formed the habit of closing the thought at the verse end when we can. And if we, reading a strange tongue, come

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thus to read by a fixed scheme, how much deeper must this scheme have been pressed upon the mind of Homer's hearers, knowing as they did the epic style with its traditional diction; for they had heard it since their first years, in the tales of many Singers, and in verses far outnumbering those of our sole *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

There is only a small number of cases in Virgil where the unperiodic enjambement marks a break at the verse end with the same force as in Homer, as in *Aeneid*, III, 6, where the structure of the sentence itself suggests an end for it at *Idae*:

III, 5 classemque sub ipsa
Antandro et Phrygiae molimur montibus Idae,
incerti quo fata ferant, ubi sistere detur,

Yet even here the sentence leaves us the thought of men building ships while their minds are weighed down by uncertainty. In Homer one would not thus have blended the two ideas. Though the break in the rhythm is marked, it is not as clean as one which comes from the habit of ending the thought with the formula.

Apollonius' use of unperiodic enjambement is usually no nearer Homer's than is that of Virgil: in those cases where it is not strictly necessary to run the sentence on into the next verse one still finds, as a rule, that the thought in some way looks beyond the verse end. The joining of verses 682–3 in book I of the *Argonautica* may be cited as typical:

I, 681 εἰ δὲ τὸ μὲν μακάρων τις ἀποτρέποι, ἀλλὰ δ' ὀπίσσω
μυρία δηιοτῆτος ὑπέρτερα πήματα μίμνει,
εὖτ' ἂν δὴ γεραραὶ μὲν ἀποφθινύθωσι γυναῖκες,

Yet at times the Alexandrian does join verses in a way which recalls the epos by a roundabout use of Homeric diction. He has gone to some pains to avoid copying formulas of any great length, so that his lines which recall the style of the older epic are found to be made up of words and shorter phrases from a number of verses. The enjambement after I, 774 is not unhomeric:

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βῆ δ' ἴμεναι προτὶ ἄστυ φαεινῶι ἀστέρι ἶσος,
ὅν ῥά τε νηγατέηισιν ἐεργόμεναι καλύβηισιν . . .

This is because the verse is made up of fragments of as many as four different verses in Homer (N 242, ω 154, Λ 747, Z 401). Still this enjambement is Homeric in somewhat the same way as ὄρωρεν (I, 713), meaning 'to be' is Homeric. Apollonius comes nearer the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* when he is copying the epic ordering of thought, rather than the epic words. His catalogue of the heroes who came to the quest of the fleece, by repeating verses of which the idea is "and there came . . .," gives to these verses much the unperiodic force that we find in the like verses of the Catalogue in B—"these were led by . . .," or in the catalogue of Helen's wooers in Hesiod[17]—"and there wooed. . . ."

* * *

But even at the best Apollonius only faintly wins to his unperiodic enjambement the Homeric movement. Indeed he needed not only more of the traditional diction of the epos, he needed even more to have been born in an age without letters. Both Apollonius and Virgil, bent each upon making his own kind of epic, wrote out their verses without haste, forming their styles carefully from their wide knowledge of many forms of literature, from their memory of the words of many centuries. But Homer put all his trust in a technique of formulas which he accepted without thought of change: it was the traditional style and by it he could put together rapidly and easily his spoken verses. It may be doubted if he ever dreamed that in doing so he was cutting off from his poetry any new shades of style which would be his very own: that is not an ideal to which the poet who composes long tales without paper has any reason to be drawn, for new words and phrases in any number would jar badly the working of his formulas. What Homer sought in his style was to reach a traditional idea of perfection, not one that he had shaped himself, and it is only in this spirit

[17] *Catalogue of Women.* frag. 68 (Evelyn-White).

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that a poet can fit his thought to a purely formulaic diction, just as it is only by the ear that such a diction can be learned and only by the voice that it can be used.

Moreover Homer was ever pushed on to use unperiodic enjambement. Oral versemaking by its speed must be chiefly carried on in an adding style. The Singer has not time for the nice balances and contrasts of unhurried thought: he must order his words in such a way that they leave him much freedom to end the sentence or draw it out as the story and the needs of the verse demand. Periods of a sort there are in Homer. Denis is not altogether wrong in classing the style of this poet as "mixed," but they are not the periods which the later oratory brought into Greek prose and poetry. They are of fixed forms which a single example will typify:

ι 56 ὄφρα μὲν ἠὼς ἦν καὶ ἀέξετο ἱερὸν ἦμαρ
τόφρα δ' ἀλεξόμενοι μένομεν πλέονάς περ ἐόντας·
ἦμος δ' ἠέλιος μετενίσσετο βουλυτόνδε
καὶ τότε δὴ Κίκονες κλῖναν δαμάσαντες Ἀχαιούς.

Apart from this traditional periodic element it is clear that Denis' other remark about the thought being unperiodically expressed generally fits the Homeric sentence: just how well will only be known by a special study. But we have noted in the present essay to just what degree this need of the oral poet to order his thought unperiodically in word groups has affected the way in which the thought is drawn out from verse to verse: it has made unperiodic enjambement twice as frequent, necessary enjambement twice as infrequent, as in the writers of the literary epic.

* * *

I have remarked that, because it is formulaic, unperiodic enjambement marks the end of the verse more sharply in Homer than in Apollonius or in Virgil. There remains to consider the fact that Denis found this way of ordering word groups prosaic. Just what he had in mind is made clear by certain of the sentences in which he describes the "austere"

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style. This style, he says, wishes its clauses "to be like nature rather than like art. . . . As a rule it does not at all wish to compose periods in which the thought would give a sense of completeness. If it ever does this by chance it seeks to make them seem unstudied and simple." [18] From this we know that Denis found the unperiodic ordering of the Homeric sentence prosaic because it seems natural and not artificial. He has touched there upon no small matter, and indeed upon one which does not permit comment here since it involves every part of Homeric style and calls for something more than a simple like or dislike of the word nature. I would only point out in passing that this way of making verse seem prosaic is of a very different sort than the other which Denis notes, which comes from running a word group over from one verse into another and thus dimming the rhythm of the end of the hexameter.

* * *

Those cases in which the reader must go to the following verse to complete the thought of the sentence are of two sorts. First are those in which the poet ends the verse at the end of a word group as in

A 57 *οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν ἤγερθεν ὁμηγερέες τ' ἐγένοντο*
τοῖσι δ' ἀνιστάμενος μετέφη πόδας ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς·

This sort of enjambement is not one of the more frequent. It occurs only about every twenty verses in the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, the *Aeneid*, and somewhat less often in the *Argonautica*.[19] It has nevertheless its part in the Homeric movement, for it is almost always found in Homer after common formulaic verses, as in the case cited, or in the traditional periods which have been mentioned above.

[18] *De Comp. Verb.* XXII, p. 212 . . . *φύσει τ' ἐοικέναι μᾶλλον αὐτὰ [sc. τὰ κῶλα] βούλεται ἡ τέχνη . . . περιόδους δὲ συντιθέναι συναπαρτιζούσας ἑαυταῖς τὸν νοῦν τὰ πολλὰ μὲν οὐδὲ βούλεται· εἰ δέ ποτ' αὐτομάτως ἐπὶ τοῦτο κατενεχθείη, τό ἀνεπιτήδευτον ἐμφαίνειν θέλει καὶ ἀφελές, ...*

[19] A 17, 39, 57, 81. *α* 11, 16, 45, 81, 82, 83, etc. In the verses examined (see n.9 above) cases of enjambement of this sort occur as follows: *Il.* 27, *Od.* 33, *Arg.* 14, *Aen.* 36.

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The second sort of necessary enjambement is that in which the word group is divided between two verses. It differs from all the types of enjambement which I have hitherto cited in that it does not mark a break in time or sense at the end of the hexameter. Since all other orderings of words fall in the other classes, the word group here will be made up in all cases of the unbroken complex formed by the basic parts of the clause—subject, verb, and object, and of the words directly modifying these basic parts. The reader is unable to form a whole picture of a single action until he has this whole complex of words and has set its parts in their proper place in regard to each other, and so it is that no break can be made in the thought until the word group is ended. To this type of enjambement we may give Denis' name of prosaic. Modern writers on metric have likewise pointed out that when the thought of two verses is joined thus closely the rhythm becomes less purely poetic.[20] In the case of the hexameter the unfixed syllable of the last foot, the dactyl of the fifth foot, and the unwillingness to divide certain pairs of words between two verses, keeps the prosaic movement of the enjambement in Virgil and Apollonius, as well as in Homer, far from that which Shakspere and Tennyson reach at times in their blank verse. It has been said of Shakspere that his verse often becomes prose; but the Greeks and Romans at no time lost a very clear-cut sense that the basis of hexametric poetry was a unit of six dactylic feet. Still the difference between ancient and modern poets has no bearing upon the differences between ancient poets. For one who knows the varying styles and rhythms of Greek and Latin verse the fact that prosaic enjambement occurs only in every fifth verse in Homer, while it is found in every second or third verse in Apollonius and Virgil, is among the first reasons why the style and rhythm of these poets are so far apart. It is a difference which in itself does not bring out so strikingly as does unperiodic enjambement the way in which Homer orders

[20] Saintsbury: *History of English Prosody* (London, 1908), II, p. 298; P. Verrier: *Principes de la métrique anglaise* (Paris, 1909), I, p. 181 ff.

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his thought. But in it above all lies the marked beat and swing of the Homeric rhythm.

It remains only to point out a way of joining verses which barely exists in Homer but which, while not one of the more common in Virgil, yet sets this poet off from Homer somewhat in the way that the formulas of unperiodic enjambement set Homer apart. It was an example of this kind which caught the thought of Ronsard pondering whether enjambement was fitting for French poetry:[21]

Laviniaque venit
litora,

Here we have in one verse an adjective which can have no meaning until we can join it with its noun in the next verse.[22] Now there is in Homer very rarely, about once in every two hundred lines, a somewhat like division, but looking more closely one sees that the adjective is almost always πᾶς, πολύς, or ἄλλος. These words are often used as substantives in the very expressions in which we now find them as adjectives, or more truly as half adjectives, for as one reads one still gives them some of their usual value:

A 78 ἦ γὰρ ὀίομαι ἄνδρα χολωσέμεν ὃς μέγα πάντων
Ἀργείων κρατέει

The one case I have found in which a descriptive adjective is put in the first verse by itself is in I 74:

πολλῶν δ' ἀγρομένων τῶι πείσεαι ὅς κεν ἀρίστην
βουλὴν βουλεύσηι·

The case is unusual and, like most of the other unusual features

[21] *Préface à la Franciade de 1587.*

[22] In the verses examined (see above, note 9) this type of enjambement appears as follows: A 78; E 2; I 74, 97. α 78; ρ 12, 33; φ 70. *Arg.* I, 13, 23, 65; I, 685, 728, 732, 760, 766; II, 6, 19, 38, 41, 68, 76, 81, 91; III, 42, 46, 69; IV, 12, 26, 27, 96; IV, 890, 891, 893, 980. *Aen.* I, 2, 13, 29, 76, 85, 99, 100; III, 2, 5, 20, 22, 39, 45, 62, 69, 86, 91, 94; V, 4, 8, 28, 80, 92; VII, 6, 8, 27, 32, 43, 54, 55, 82, 83, 94, 100; IX, 19, 30, 38, 40, 49, 56, 63, 67, 75; XI, 9, 12, 23, 32, 37, 42, 55, 56, 57, 60, 96, 98.

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of Homeric style, due to a chance interplay of formulas.[23] Homer, putting together his traditional phrases, remembered first such common expressions falling at the end of the verse as ὅς μέγ' ἄριστος, ὅς τις ἄριστος, and then such expressions used at the beginning of the verse as βουλὰς βουλεύει (K 415), βουλὰς βουλεύειν (K 147, 327; ζ 61), βουλὰς βουλεύουσι (Ω 652), and their joining made the enjambement of I 74–75. But in Apollonius we find the adjective in the first verse being used regularly, about once in every twenty verses; moreover he often puts a number of words between the adjective and the noun:

Arg. I, 685 ἦε βαθείαις
αὐτόματοι βόες ὕμμιν ἐνιζευχθέντες ἀρούραις
γειοτόμον νειοῖο διειρύσσουσιν ἄροτρον;

Virgil goes still farther than Apollonius, thus placing the adjective by itself in about every tenth verse. In one case at least we have enjambement of this sort in three successive verses:

Aen. XI, 55 at non, Euandre, pudendis
volneribus pulsum aspicies, nec sospite dirum
optabis nato funus pater. hei mihi, quantum
praesidium, Ausonia, et quantum tu perdis, Iule.

Of the different forms of prosaic enjambement this is, of course, that which most completely obscures the end of the verse: in the movement of his thought from verse to verse Virgil is here the least Homeric.

* * *

Thus we have found that Homer more often brings his thought to a close at the end of the verse than do later writers of the epic, and that he marks more strongly the rhythm of the hexameter. That is the larger difference and the many details which go to make it up cannot well be given briefly: a study in style like the present one fulfils its aims as it goes ahead, form-

[23] Cf. Parry, *Les formules et la métrique d'Homère* (Paris, 1928), chapters II–III.

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ing for us bit by bit a clearer sense of the way in which a poet has fitted his thought to the pattern of his verses. Of course one would like to say that Homer's enjambement is better or worse than that of Apollonius and Virgil. But to do that one must first be sure of the merits of the running and periodic styles as a whole, at least in as far as they suit certain lines of thought, and one will have to go into all the broader problem of the order of thought in the Homeric sentence, of which this paper has treated only a very small part, The subject is vast, for we shall have to know the word order in the Homeric sentence and within the verse, the use of the parts of speech, the length of sentences and clauses and the way in which they are grouped. Yet I think the search will repay itself. We may very well find that M. Marcel Jousse, from his study of various oral poetries,[24] is right in believing that the order of ideas in oral verse is more closely suited to the inborn workings of the mind than it is in written style. But even before that I would place the reward of knowing what we already know, in a way: that the style of Homer is that which best tells what he wished to tell.

[24] *Le style oral rythmique et mnémotechnique chez les verbomoteurs* (Paris, 1925).

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XIV.—*Evidence from Early Roman Religion Concerning the Growth of the City*

INEZ GERTRUDE SCOTT

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Roman tradition points out four stages in the development of the early city: the Alban city of the Palatine, supposedly the nucleus of Rome; the Septimontium, which includes approximately the southern half of the city; Rome of the four regions, the boundaries of which have never been definitely fixed; and the later city of seven hills. The tendency of scholars, especially since Carter's work in topography and religion, has been to credit the city of four regions, but to doubt the existence of the two earlier stages. Carter and Richmond[1] attacked the "Roma Quadrata" of Romulus, and, by proving that the name did not appear in popular usage until Varro's time, implied that the whole tradition of the Palatine nucleus was fostered and popularized in the age when the Palatine was the home of the first citizens of Rome.

The evidence of the *sepulcretum* of the Forum, while not extensive enough to be conclusive, inclines toward the traditional four stages. Of the two types of burial in the Forum cemetery, the cremation burials of the Alban type in all probability represent the Palatine community, while the inhumation graves are of the same type as those of the Esquiline cemetery.[2] A few exchanges of characteristic types of pottery indicate some intermingling between the two races,[3]—whether actual union or mere friendly intercourse it is impossible to determine. The occurrence at a slightly later date of an occasional cremation burial on the Esquiline supports this assumption. The Forum cemetery, therefore, represents the

[1] *A.J.A.*, XII (1908), 179 ff. *J.R.S.*, IV (1914), 222 ff.

[2] *Memoirs of American Academy in Rome*, VII, 55–56.

[3] *Ibid.*, 60 ff.

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period when the two peoples dwelling on the Palatine and Esquiline were tending toward union. At the same time the establishment of the city of four regions fixes a *terminus ante quem* for the whole period of Forum burials. For at the union of the seven hills the Forum became the market place and main thoroughfare, and burials must have been banished from territory which was now the center of the city.[4] Before 600 B.C., therefore, the approximate date at which burials disappeared from the Forum, the inhabitants of the Palatine and Esquiline, federated if not united into one community, were still separate from the settlements of the Quirinal and Capitoline.

While unfortunately no early burial finds give evidence of the first inhabitants of the Quirinal and Capitoline it is not necessary to assume that they were unoccupied. In fact, one cannot avoid the supposition that the settlements on these hills had long enjoyed an independent existence before their union with the Septimontium to form the city of four regions.

The earliest cults of the calendar of religious festivals offer some evidence concerning these stages of development. Survivals from early religion, while they fail to furnish any complete record, may be valuable as a check upon inferences from other sources. Some years ago Carter made a rather sweeping statement that remarkably few of the oldest cults are associated with the Palatine, the supposed nucleus of the city, and that if any inference could be drawn from religion the Quirinal rather than the Palatine must be ranked earliest.[5] The evidence from the early calendar, however, seems on the whole to point to two inferences: that the Palatine and Quirinal both retain survivals from a period of independent existence, and that the city of Numa's calendar was in origin a combination of two units, the Palatine and Quirinal with their respective appendages.

Two cults associated with the Quirinal belong to the earliest

[4] *Ibid.*, 62 f.

[5] *A.J.A.*, XII (1908), 179 ff.

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stratum of Roman religion, namely the Quirinalia and the Floralia. Of the Quirinalia [6] there is little certain information concerning either the cult or the deity who was the object of it. The name itself, both its etymology and meaning, has given rise to controversy which gives little hope of settlement. The identification of Quirinus with Romulus is of course later, though possibly it is worth noting that the cult of the founder has become entangled with several of the earliest rites, the true origins of which were lost in antiquity even in Roman times.[7] One fact gives Quirinus a place in the earliest list of deities,—his possession of a *flamen*, who, it is significant, appears in classical times only in his decline. He performs the rite to Robigus,[8] the sacrifice to Consus,[9] and takes part in the *parentatio* at the grave of Larentia.[10] These extraneous labors indicate, not that these deities had any connection with Quirinus, but merely that the *flamen Quirinalis* in the days of the deity's decline was not fully occupied with his own duties and was assigned other rites as well. Quirinus still retains some vestiges of his former prestige. He is one of the few early numina whose names are not purely functional in character, as are Consus and Saturnus, nor connected with a specific object, as are Janus and Vesta. Quirinus, like Jupiter and Mars, at the time of the calendar's organization has to some extent been dissociated from his immediate function and is on the way to becoming an individualized deity. Further, in the sacerdotal procession the *flamen* of Quirinus with those of Jupiter and Mars has a special place, set apart from the *flamines minores* between the *Rex Sacrorum* and *Pontifex Maximus*.[11] Quirinus thus appears to have enjoyed a position of importance among Roman deities before his degeneration

[6] Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, pp. 322 ff.

[7] The Consualia, Lupercalia, Palilia, Poplifugium, as well as the cult of Quirinus, are associated with Romulus in later legend.

[8] Ovid, *Fasti*, IV, 908.

[9] Tertullian, *de spect.* 8.

[10] Gellius, VII, 7, 7.

[11] Festus, 185 M.

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in historical times to his status of identity sometimes with Mars sometimes with Romulus.

The Floralia, which does not appear in the earliest list of festivals, is recorded in the calendars as the "ludi Florae" [12] founded at the order of the Sibylline books in 238 B.C.[13] The ludi, however, must have been superimposed upon an old Italic cult; for not only does Flora possess a *flamen*,[14] but the rite shows a close relationship with other early fertility cults of the month of April.[15] The scattering of beans and lupines [16] mark the rite as primitive, while the releasing of hares and goats in the circus is parallel to the releasing of foxes with burning tails at the Cerealia.[17]

A third cult, which should be the most significant as a survival from the independent existence of the Quirinal, is unfortunately the most obscure. This is the *Capitolium Vetus*, described by Varro [18] as an older *sacellum* of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva. This earlier *capitolium*, whether it was a cult to an earlier triad or simply a political cult to a state Jupiter of the Quirinal, is for our purpose more important by the fact of its existence than in its details. As it stands, certain in name only, it is clearly a survival from the religion of an independent Quirinal community.

Concerning the early settlement of the Palatine we have much more information, some of which is of importance for the history of the city. The Palilia, the supposed birthday of Rome, is proved to be of the very earliest stratum both by its pastoral character and by the fact that it continued to be celebrated as a rustic festival even after its incorporation into the state religion. A number of details place the cult in a primitive stage of religious development: the purification by

[12] Fasti Maffeiani and Praenestini, *s.v.* April 28; *C.I.L.* I, p. 305, p. 317.

[13] Pliny, *N.H.* XVIII, 286. Velleius, I, 14.

[14] Varro, *L.L.* VII, 45.

[15] The Fordicidia, Cerealia, Veneralia.

[16] Persius, 5, 177.

[17] Ovid, *Fasti*, V, 371; IV, 681 ff. Fowler, *op. cit.* p. 94.

[18] *L.L.* V, 158.

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leaping through fire, the use of bean straw, the connection with two other early fertility cults, the Fordicidia and the festival of the October horse.[19] The fact that the name of the deity is of uncertain gender [20] is a sure proof of the antiquity of the cult.[21]

From the Palatine comes the name of Cacus, according to Wissowa's [22] speculation an old fire deity who had fallen into obscurity before the organization of the calendar, of whose existence in his original form only the name and the *Scalae Caci* bear witness.

The Lupercalia bears all the marks of being one of the earliest festivals of the calendar. It retains traces of magic in the ritual acts performed, the smearing of blood with a knife and the wiping with wool, causing the *lupercus* to laugh, the striking with the *februa*. No deity at all is traceable as the object of the cult, for Faunus was unquestionably inserted later when the lack of a deity was felt. Originally the rite was so little removed from magic that the process was all-important, the deity conceived only vaguely, if at all. Most significant as evidence for the independent existence of the Palatine city is the procession of the *Luperci* around the hill, recorded without a doubt in Tacitus' description of the earliest *pomerium*.[23] Tacitus' designation of four points in the *pomerium*, the *Ara Maxima*, the *Ara Consi*, the *Curiae Veteres*, and the *Sacellum Larum*, is probably based partly on the route taken by the *Luperci*, and partly on remains of the old Servian wall along the southwest slope of the Palatine.[24] While this may never have been a formal *pomerium*, in the later sense of the word, I cannot escape the conviction that the institution of the *pomerium*, if it is Etruscan as Livy claims, was but a formulation of an early Italic idea inherent in the old Italic ritual procession.

[19] Ovid, *Fasti*, IV, 721–782.

[20] Servius *ad Georg.* III, 1.

[21] It is uncertain whether the *flamen Palatua* (Varro, *L.L.* VII, 45, Festus, 245) is to be attached to the cult of Pales, but it seems possible that "Palatua" is a variant of a name which is at best uncertain.

[22] *Religion und Kultus der Römer*, pp. 161, 282–283; Servius *ad Aen.* VIII, 190.

[23] *Ann.* XII, 24.

[24] This is suggested by Frank in *A.J.A.* XXII (1918), 176.

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For the idea involved in the *pomerium*, of describing a line inside which the Gods are expected to furnish protection, is present in Italic religion. The procession of the *luperci* allows but one interpretation consistent with Italic ritual: it described a magico-religious circle around the territory in which the participants were interested, which at the time when the rite was instituted did not extend beyond the Palatine. It is paralleled in the Ambarvalia, the lustration of the army, the lustration of the Arx at Iguvium. Whether or not we call the line of the procession a *pomerium*, it is a most significant survival from the period when the Palatine was a separate community.

A number of traditions, of which we know little more than that they existed, are best explained as survivals from an independent Palatine city. The names of the original three gates of Romulus' city seem to have no other *raison d'être*. The *Curiae Veteres*,[25] displaced by the *Curia Hostilia* at a more central point in the later city, has the same significance in the history of the Palatine as the *Capitolium Vetus* in the history of the Quirinal. Of more importance is the existence of the *Mundus*, the religious center of the Palatine community.[26] The traditions about the *mundus* show a confusion of two distinct ideas, one of which, the belief that its opening allows the shades to wander, is clearly a late importation from Etruria,[27] paralleled indeed in representations on Etruscan vases. But an Italic idea seems to be present in the rite of placing first fruits into a pit;[28] and it is worth noting that the dates of the opening (August 24, October 5, November 8), all occur during the harvest season. The rite is somewhat parallel to the harvest festival of Consus (August 21 and December 15), at which an offering of firstfruits was placed underground, on an altar uncovered only on the days of the festival. We may as-

[25] Jordan, *Top.* I, 3, p. 44, n. 28. After the removal of the assembly of the *curiae* from the *Curiae Veteres*, the *sacra curiarum* were performed in the *Curiae Novae* (Festus, 174 M.) near the *Compitum Fabricium*, while the *curiae* met for political purposes in the *Comitium*.

[26] Festus, 258 M; 310.

[27] Grenier, *The Roman Spirit*, p. 15.

[28] Ovid, *Fasti*, IV, 821; Plutarch, *Rom.* 11. See *J. R. S.* II (1912), 25 ff.

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sume that even when the agricultural significance of the rite had been lost, the old harvest days survived in the later belief as the occasions when the ghosts were released. The later reference to the "mundus Cereris"[29] might reflect an earlier agricultural significance of the ceremony as appropriately as its connections with the lower world.

In the matter of early cults the Palatine and Quirinal occupy somewhat parallel positions, though the Palatine clearly shows more survivals from its independent existence. Their position in the calendar of Numa is more striking when compared with the small number of early cults associated with other hills.[29] The few which have survived are little more than names, Jupiter Viminus, Jupiter Fagutalis, Juno Lucina in Esquilino, Juno Sororia. Others are scattered throughout the valleys, the Forum, Velabrum, the circus valley, and the Campus; but of the hills the Palatine and Quirinal occupy the most significant place.[30]

Coinciding with this fact there are traces in several rites of a double origin of the city. This indication of two component units was noticed long ago in the festival of the October horse. According to Festus (178), after a race of two *bigae* in the campus the right hand horse of the winning team was sacrificed to Mars and its head fought for by two factions, the Sacraviensis and the Suburanensis. The ceremony seems to be a survival of a contest between two rival communities for a trophy which was probably a symbol of fertility of crops. De Sanctis inferred from this festival the existence of a city of two units, the *pomerium* of which he would draw so as to include three gates, the *Porta Mugonia*, the Janus in the *Argiletum*, and the *Tigillum Sororium*. That line is of course fanciful, but the tradition of the two factions has not otherwise been explained.

It is borne out by traces of doubling in priestly offices.

[29] Festus, 142 (Paulus).

[30] The Capitoline occupies an exceptional position because of its position as the common ground and religious center of the united city.

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The two colleges of *Salii* were definitely associated with the Quirinal and Palatine, and called the *Agonales* and *Palatini*.[31] The two colleges of *Luperci* cannot with any certainty be so associated. The *Quinctiales* were, however, associated with Romulus and therefore with the Palatine, and a reference in Livy, v, 46, 2, to an annual sacrifice of the Fabii on the Quirinal may possibly connect the other college with that hill.

The two festivals of the Carmentalia on January 11 and 15, which the Romans themselves thought of as two separate rites and tried in various ways to explain,[32] would be intelligible if they represented cults of two communities originally separate.

This parallelism of position between the Palatine and Quirinal and the indications of a double origin of the city all coincide with the ever-recurring tradition of the two racial elements in the ancestry of the Roman people, the more significantly since tradition always places the Latins on the Palatine and the Sabines on the Quirinal. But no evidence available at present makes this line of racial demarcation anything more than speculation. Burials indicate indeed that the first combination of Latin and Sabine occurred in the earlier stage of the Septimontium.

But as regards the topographical development of the city, there is what seems to me a significant amount of evidence that two communities, those of the Palatine and the Quirinal, had somehow gained in importance at the expense of the other early settlements, so that the city of four regions was a combination of two units rather than seven. That the group which centered about the Palatine was the dominating factor at the time of union is indicated by the greater number of survivals in cult and tradition from its time of independent power.

[31] Livy, v, 52; Serv. *ad Aen.* VIII, 285; Varro, *L.L.* VI, 14; Dion. Hal. II, 70; III, 32.

[32] Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, pp. 290–291. Plutarch, *Rom.* 21, guesses that the second was established at the union of the Latin and Sabine settlements.

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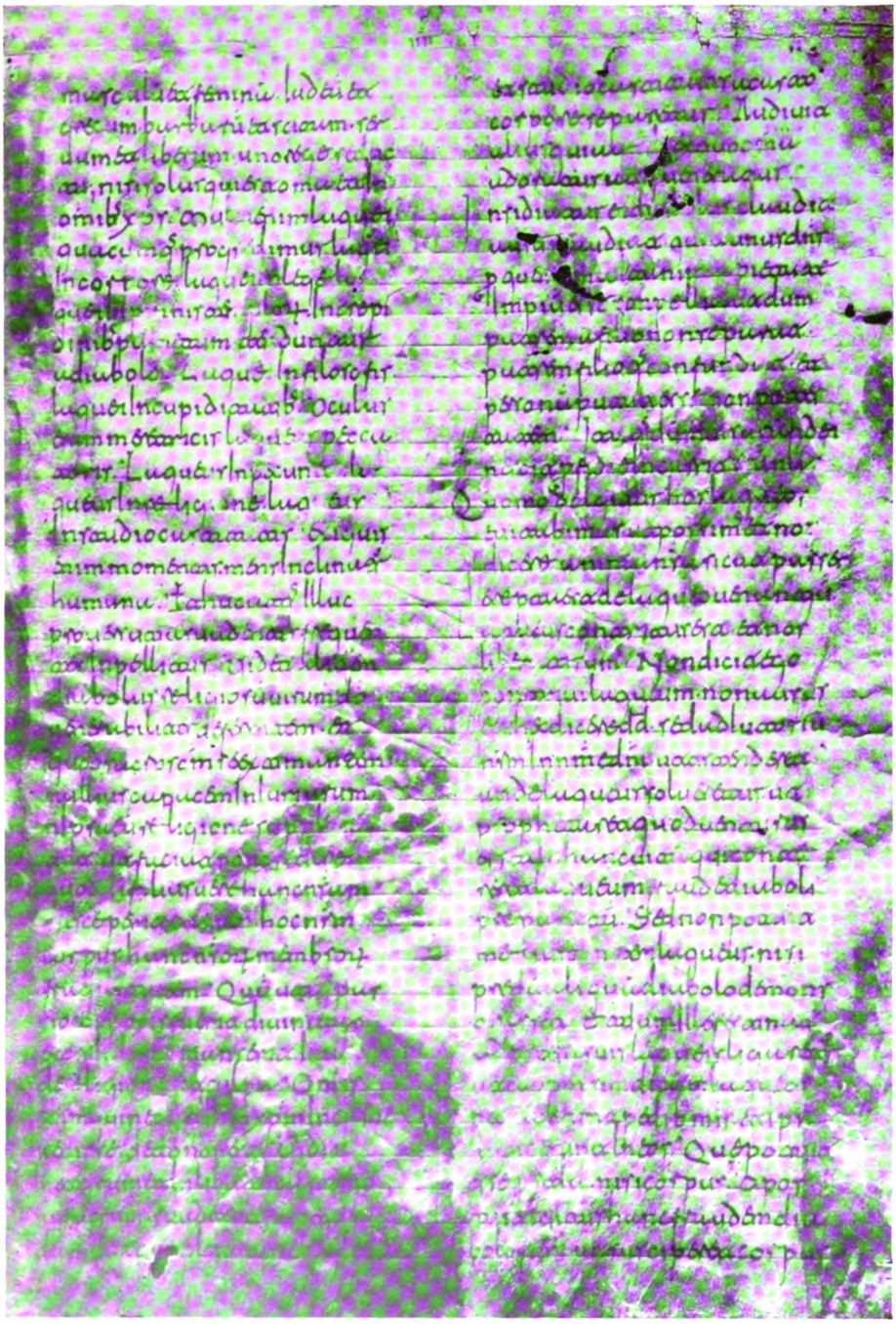

Vich, *Museo Episcopal*
Fragment of Ambrosius, *Expositio in Lucam*, f. 2*r*.

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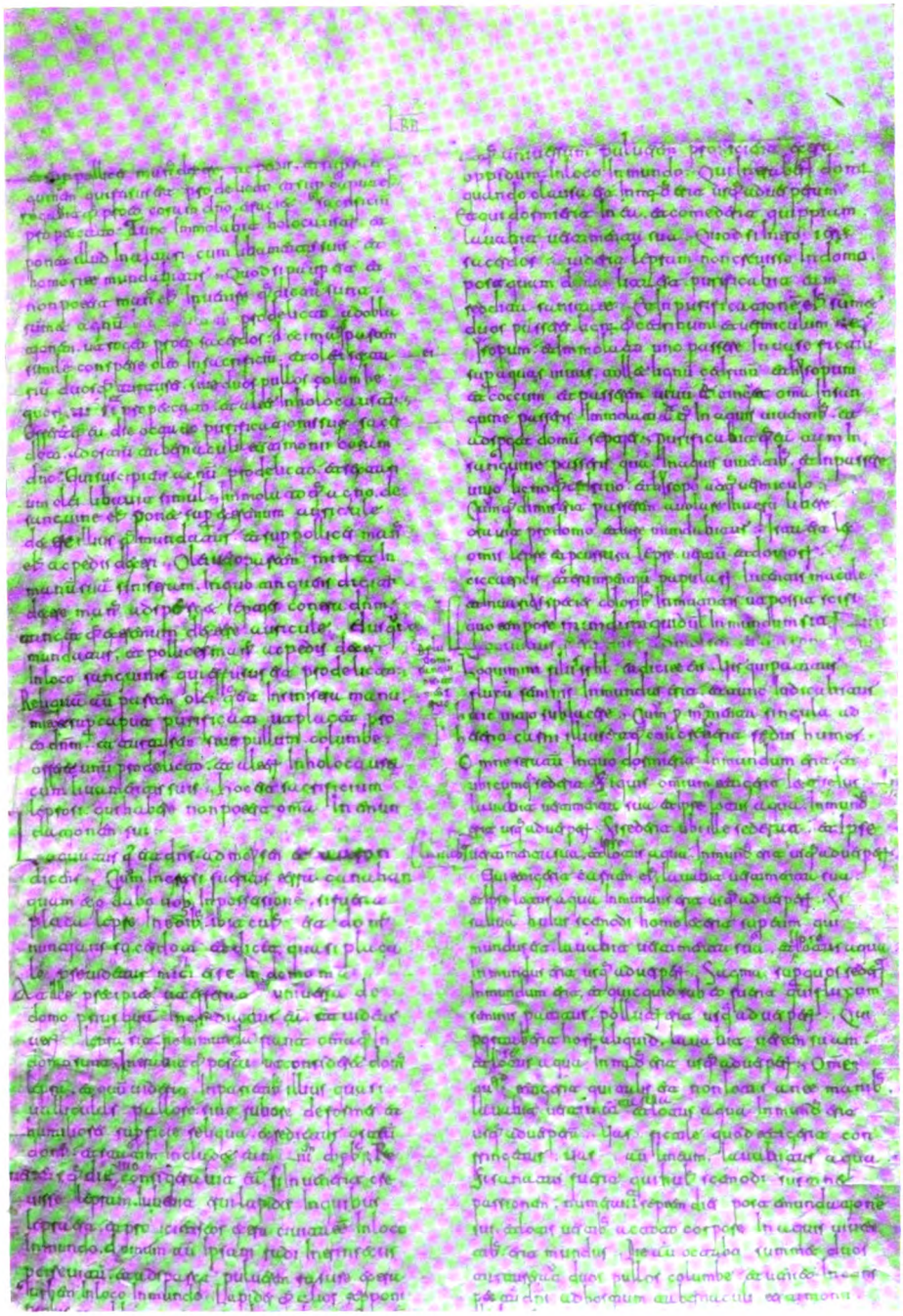

Braga, *Arquivo Distrital*
Fragment of Latin Bible, f. 1*v*.

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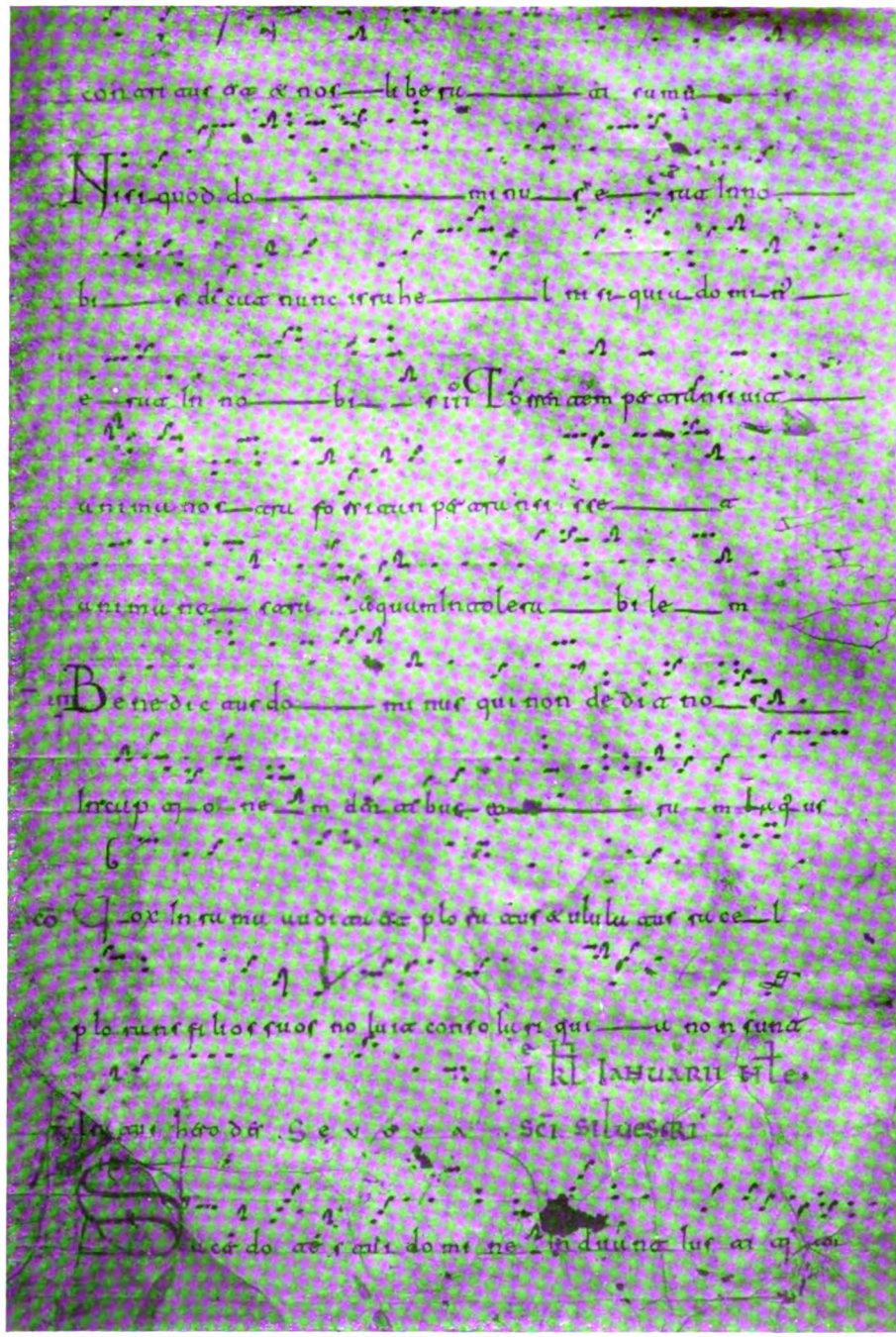

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Fragment of Roman Antiphonary, f. 1*r*.

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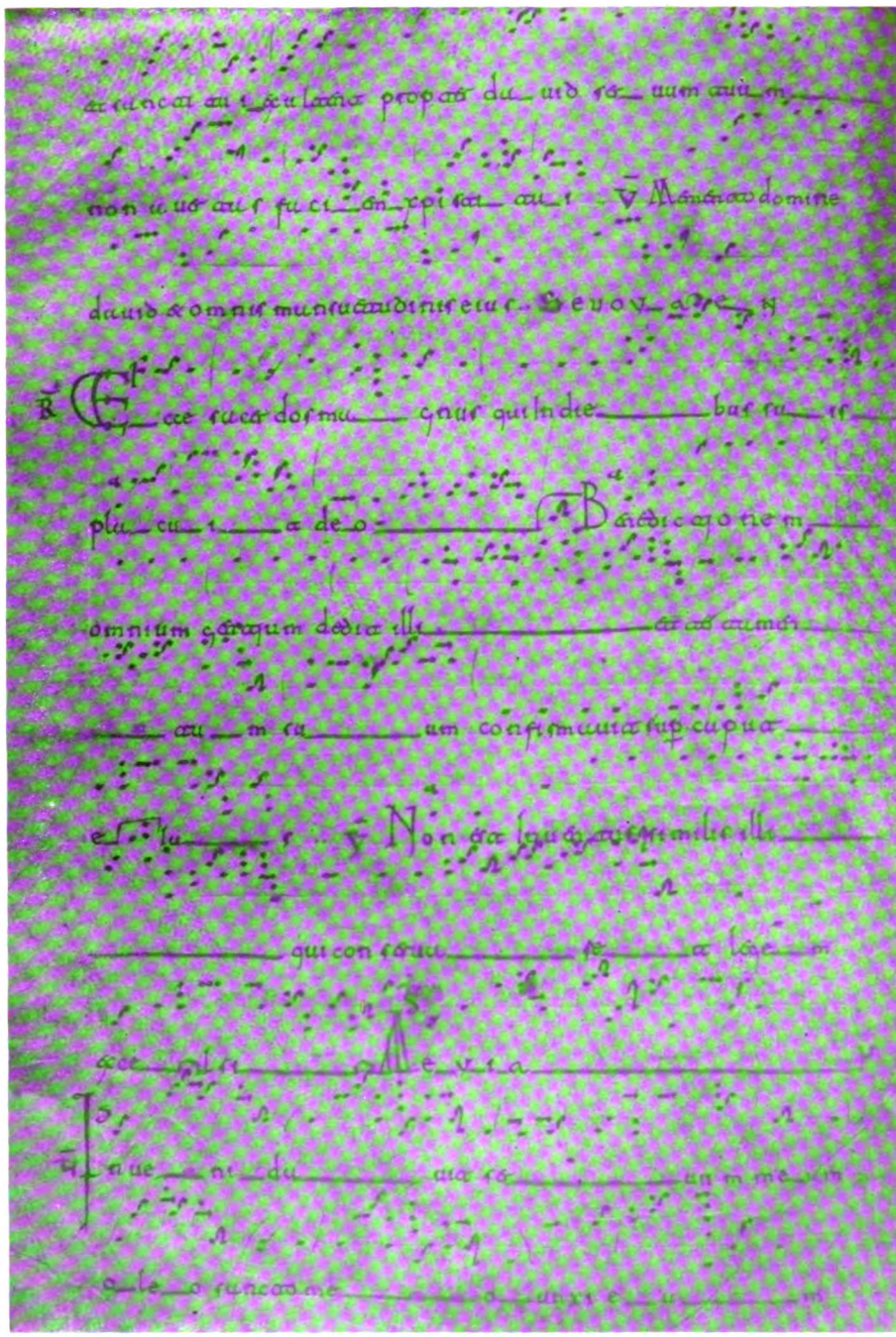

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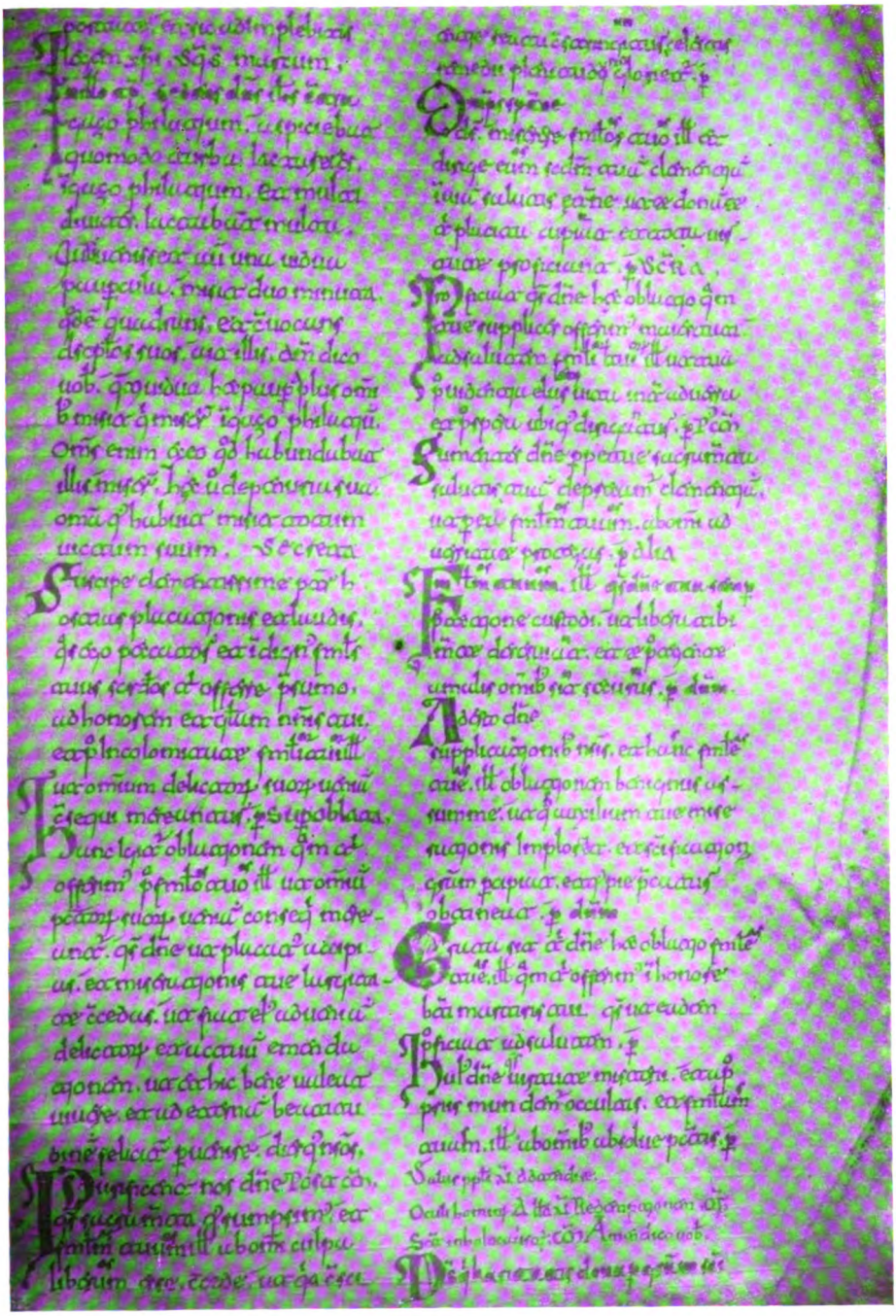

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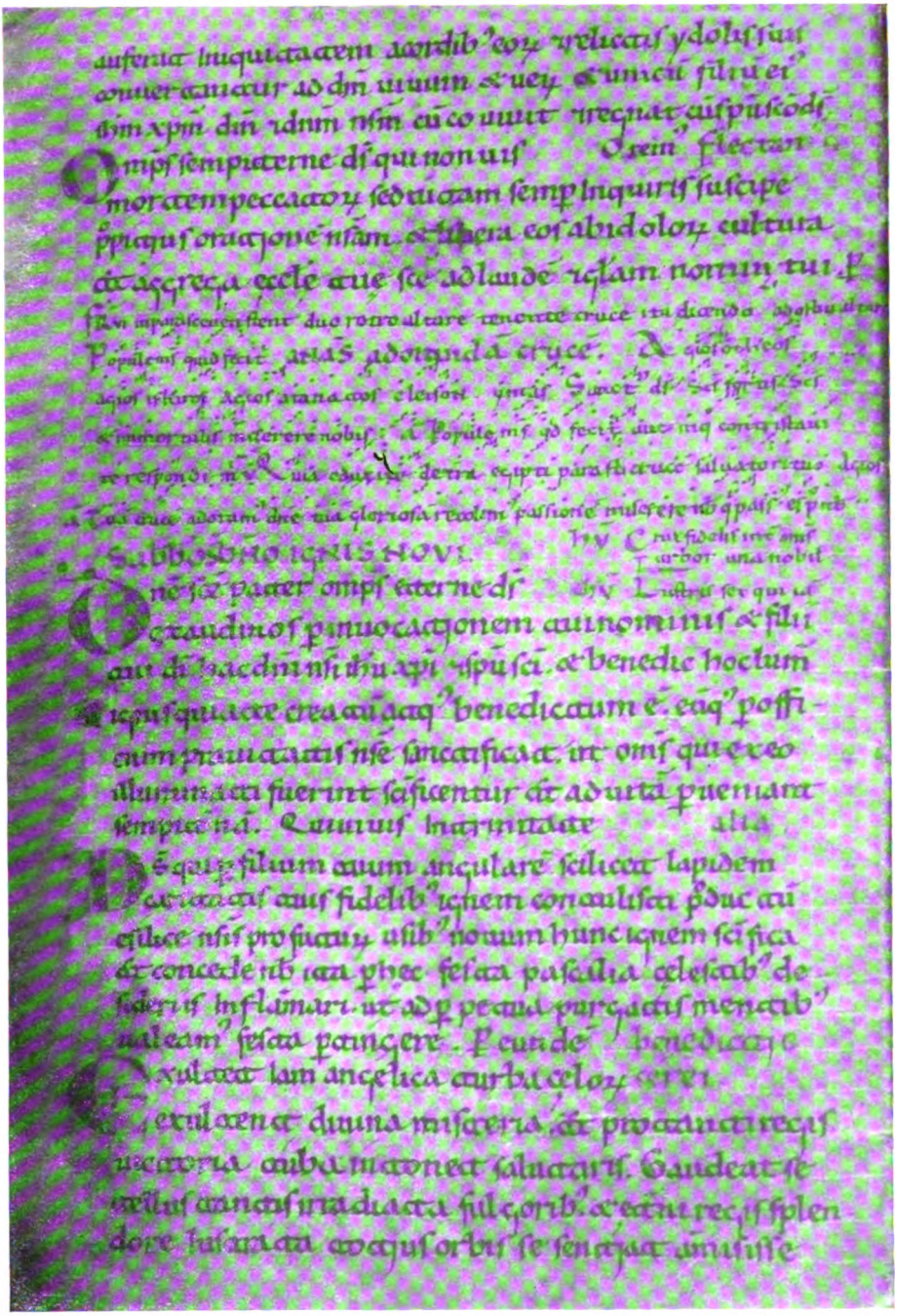

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PROCEEDINGS

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AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

I. PROGRAM

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 26, 2:00 P.M.

BERNARD MELZAR ALLEN
The Sociative Ablatives; Why Ablative of Manner? (p. 102)

MILMAN PARRY
The Distinctive Character of Enjambement in Homeric Verse (p. 200)

FRANCES THERESA RUSSELL
Beauty and Art in Utopian Literature (p. xvi)

CLARK HOPKINS
Further Discoveries in the Temple of the Palmyrene Gods at Doura (illustrated; p. xvi)

CARO LYNN
Aeneas *sub templo* (p. xvii)

INEZ GERTRUDE SCOTT
Evidence from Roman Religion concerning the Growth of Early Rome (p. 221)

E. ADELAIDE HAHN
Poetic Justice in the *Aeneid* (read by title; p. xvii)

CHARLES ALEXANDER ROBINSON, JR.
Alexander's Descent of the Indus (read by title; p. xviii)

JOINT SESSION WITH THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF AMERICA, 8:30 P.M.

TENNEY FRANK
Our Changing Program

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FRIDAY, DECEMBER 27

SECOND SESSION, 9:30 A.M.

FLORENCE MARY BENNETT ANDERSON

The Character of Clytemnestra in the *Agamemnon* of Aeschylus (p. 136)

JAMES WILLIAM PUGSLEY

The Fate Motive and Its Echoes in the *Oresteia* (p. 38)

WILLIAM CHASE GREENE

The Murderers of Laius (p. 75)

FREDERICK WARREN WRIGHT

Aulus Gellius and the Theatre (p. xix)

ARTHUR DARBY NOCK

Σύνναος Θεός [1] (p. xxvii)

LESTER KRUGER BORN

The Manuscripts of the *Integumenta* on the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid by John of Garland (read by title; p. 179)

THIRD SESSION, 2:00 P.M.

FREDERICK WILLIAM SHIPLEY

Thirteen Months in the History of the Rostra [2] (p. xix)

ANITA E. KLEIN

Studies of Child Life in Greek Art (read by title)

CHARLES ROCKWELL LANMAN

Illustrations from the Vernacular in Teaching the Sound-changes of a Foreign Language (illustrated; p. xx)

AUGUSTUS TABER MURRAY

The Conclusion of the *Odyssey*

LIONEL DENIS PETERKIN

Aeneas and Dido in the Light of Modern Criticism (p. xxi)

[1] To be published in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*.

[2] To be published in *Washington University Studies*.

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EVAN TAYLOR SAGE

Notes on XV Century MSS. of Petronius (read by title; p. xxi)
The Early Century Editions of Petronius (read by title; p. xxii)

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 28

FOURTH SESSION, 9:30 A.M.

LILY ROSS TAYLOR

The Attitude of Tiberius toward the Imperial Cult (p. 87)

KENNETH SCOTT

Plutarch and the Ruler Cult (p. 117)

HERBERT WEIR SMYTH

The Poetic Diction of Aeschylus [1] (p. xxii)

RODNEY POTTER ROBINSON

Some Newly Discovered Fragments of Visigothic Manuscripts (illustrated; p. 48)

JAMES EUGENE DUNLAP

Caesar's Final Battle with the Helvetians (illustrated; p. xxiii)

EDITH FRANCES CLAFLIN

Portrait of a Boeotian Lady (read by title; p. xxiv)

ANDREW RUNNI ANDERSON

Bucephalas and his Legend (read by title; [2] p. xxiv)
The Significance of the MS. 'AR XXVII in the Tradition of the Alexander Legend (read by title; [3] p. xxv)

FIFTH SESSION, 2:30 P.M.

ROY KENNETH HACK

Homer and the Cult of Heroes (p. 57)

[1] To be published in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*.
[2] Published in *American Journal of Philology*, LI, 1.
[3] To be published in *Speculum*.

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ALFRED CARY SCHLESINGER
Silence in Tragedy and the Three Actor Rule[1] (p. xxvi)

LEVI ARNOLD POST
The Preludes to Plato's *Laws* (p. 5)

WARREN EVERETT BLAKE
Stichometric Evidence for Text Abbreviation in Chariton (p. xxvi)

ALEXANDER DAVID FRASER
Scheria and the Phaeacians (p. 155)

BLANCHE BROTHERTON
A Feature of Narrative Technique in the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius

EDGAR HOWARD STURTEVANT
The Relationship of Hittite to Indo-European (read by title; p. 25)

[1] To be published in *Classical Philology*.

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II. MINUTES

Boston University, Boston, Massachusetts
First Session

Thursday afternoon, December 26.

The sixty-first annual meeting was called to order at 2:05 P.M. in Jacob Sleeper Hall by the President of the Association, Tenney Frank of Johns Hopkins University. About 100 were in attendance. The report of the executive committee through its secretary was read as follows:

Volume 59 of the *Transactions* and *Proceedings* appeared in advance copies in May and was distributed to the members in early June. It was about the same size as volume 58 and cost very nearly the same.

The membership continues to lose rather heavily by death and even more alarmingly by resignations. A rather persistent bombardment of reminders reduced the number who were dropped for failure to pay dues from 24 to 8. The number of resignations shoots up sharply, just about doubling with the increase of the dues to four dollars—for the four years 1922–1925 it averaged less than 8; in the past three years it averages over 17. In spite of this the membership after the temporary setback of last year has continued its slow increase. In the last year of Professor Bill's secretaryship the net gain was 28. It was expected that the increase of dues would cause a temporary drop, and the next year showed a loss of 5, the next year a gain of 7, the next year a loss of 9. This year we report a gain of 23. The secretary extends cordial thanks to those members who have cooperated to secure this advance.

The 1056 members are distributed as follows:

Regular annual members	826	
From the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast	78	
Life members	135	
Relieved from payment of dues because of age and length of membership	17	
		1056

The membership record for the year has been as follows:

New members	72	
Reinstated	1	
Total gain		73

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Members lost		
By death	18	
By resignation	18	
Dropped for failure to pay dues	8	
Lost from P. A. P. C.	6	
Total loss		50
Net gain		23

The new members elected by the executive committee during the period from January 1, 1929, to December 31, 1929, are as follows:

Walter K. Abel, New York University
Ora M. Belden, Catlin School
Kathryn S. Bennett, University of Wisconsin
Lester K. Born, Ohio State University
Elinor D. Breeze, Colorado College
T. R. S. Broughton, Bryn Mawr College
Alston H. Chase, Harvard University
Harold F. Cherniss, University of California
N. Y. Clauson, Racine, Wisconsin
Helen Rees Clifford, Sophie Newcomb Memorial College
Evelyn H. Clift, Brooklyn, New York
Herbert N. Couch, University of Illinois
Eunice Burr Couch, Urbana, Ill.
F. Stuart Crawford, Jr., Amherst College
Nancy J. Criswell, Wilson College
Paul Culley, New York University
Ruth B. Fisch, Cleveland, Ohio
Vincent J. Flynn, College of St. Thomas
Natalie M. Gifford, Wheaton College, Norton, Mass.
M. Kathryn Glick, Wilson College
Chester Carr Greene, Jr., Princeton University
Gertrude E. Grether, New Haven, Conn.
Marian Harman, North Central College
Arthur Henry Harrop, Albion College
Curtis Hartshorne, Vassar College
Richard M. Haywood, Johns Hopkins University
Ernest L. Hettich, New York University
Virgil E. Hiatt, Wooster, Ohio
Samuel A. Ives, Hamilton College
Frederick J. F. Jackson, Union Theological Seminary
Jotham Johnson, Yale University
Isabel D. Kadison, New York City
Charles Z. Keim, Wheeling, W. Va.
Anita E. Klein, Columbia University
William Charles Korfmacher, St. Louis University

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Joannes Ktenas, Harvard University
Roy H. Lanphear, Dartmouth College
Anna C. Lee, Lynbrook, New York
Waldo G. Leland, Washington, D. C.
Dorothy Low, Vassar College
A. G. C. Maitland, Washington Square College
Ruth Martin, The State University of Iowa
Floyd McGranahan, Beloit College
John Hill Monroe, Brown University
Walter A. Montgomery, University of Virginia
Sawyer McArthur Mosser, Graduate College
Marka Nelson, Western College for Women
Vernon S. L. Pate, New York State College of Agriculture
Lidorra H. Putney, Mount Holyoke College
G. Payn Quackenbos, College of the City of New York
Bessie E. Richardson, The State University of Iowa
Winifred L. Ruter, Hunter College
Leo Erval A. Saidla, Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute
Lauriston Livingston Scaife, Milton, Mass.
Shirley Smith, New Jersey College for Women
Alfred D. Stefferud, Kemper Military School
Lavina Stewart, Connecticut College for Women
Meriwether Stuart, Hunter College
Cora E. Stubbs, Elmira College
Homer A. Thompson, Rosedale, B. C., Can.
Hans Christian Thory, University of Michigan
Robert Whitney Tucker, Cornell University
John H. Wagenblass, Hamilton College
H. R. Wezeman, Ann Arbor, Mich.
Edna White, Wm. L. Dickinson High School, Jersey City
Edna Wiegand, Lawrence University
Herbert C. Youtie, University of Michigan

Abel Alarcon, College of the Pacific
Walter Giesecke, College of the Pacific
Esson M. Gale, University of California
F. T. Russell, Stanford University
Dorothea C. Woodworth, University of California at Los Angeles

In the course of the past year the Secretary has been informed of the decease of the following members:

Hamilton Ford Allen	14 Aug. 1929
Sereno Burton Clark	22 Jan. 1929
John Raymond Crawford	8 Sept. 1926
Adelaide M. Coburn	15 April 1929
A. E. Gobble	17 April 1929
Fred Burton Renney Hellems	19 April 1929
Archibald L. Hodges	2 Nov. 1929

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Milton Wylie Humphreys	30 Nov. 1928
Robert Cecil Macmahon	9 April 1929
Caroline P. Ober	2 June 1929
John W. Redd	4 April 1929
Graham Reynolds	22 April 1929
Horatio M. Reynolds	3 Oct. 1929
H. Osborne Ryder	6 Sept. 1929
Kendall Kerfoot Smith	26 Nov. 1929
Thomas Henry Sonnedecker	15 April 1929
John J. Tannrath	16 June 1929
John Max Wulfing	28 Jan. 1929

The report of the executive committee was adopted.

The President announced the appointment of the following committee to audit the Treasurer's accounts, L. C. Barret and N. W. DeWitt; on place of the next meeting, Elizabeth H. Haight, Campbell Bonner, H. W. Prescott; on resolutions, R. K. Hack, Cornelia C. Coulter, L. A. Post. The session was devoted to the reading of papers.

GEORGIAN ROOM, HOTEL STATLER

JOINT SESSION WITH THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF AMERICA

Thursday evening, December 26.

Vice-President George Henry Chase of the Institute introduced the President of the Association, Tenney Frank, who delivered the presidential address on the subject "Our Changing Program." About 250 were present.

SECOND SESSION

JACOB SLEEPER HALL, BOSTON UNIVERSITY

Friday morning, December 27.

This session opened at 9:30 A.M., President Frank presiding. The entire session was devoted to the reading of papers. About 150 were in attendance.

THIRD SESSION

Friday afternoon, December 27.

The session was opened at 2:00 P.M., Vice-President Prescott presiding. The session was devoted to the reading of papers

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and there were about 150 people in attendance. In the course of the session, Campbell Bonner, at the request of the executive committee, read the following memorial to Milton Wylie Humphreys:

During the past year the American Philological Association has lost one of its oldest and most highly respected members by the death of Professor Milton Wylie Humphreys, formerly of the University of Virginia, at the advanced age of eighty-four. It is one of the melancholy features of the passing of so old a man that there remain very few who can testify from their own knowledge to the power of his personality. Although I am now ranked with the older group of our membership, I had the privilege of seeing Humphreys only twice in my life; once when I was a small boy and he, in the prime of life, was Professor of Greek in Vanderbilt University; and once when, like an aged prophet coming forth from his hermitage to counsel a younger generation, he appeared at a meeting of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South. Fortunately I am able to draw upon the knowledge of one of our veterans who knew Humphreys well, and succeeded him in the chair of Greek at Vanderbilt University. This is Professor Charles Forster Smith of the University of Wisconsin, who corresponded with Humphreys during the last years of his life, and who has put at my service some letters which throw an interesting light upon the last years of the old scholar.

Humphreys was in a certain sense a backwoodsman. He was born in 1844 in one of the mountain counties of Virginia, subsequently made a part of the new state of West Virginia, and his bringing up was characterized by the simplicity and hardihood which we associate with pioneer life. He served in the army of the Confederate States for three years, entering service as soon as he was eligible for military duty and continuing to the end. From the army he passed, as did many young southerners in that period, into college life, and was graduated at Washington College while it was under the presidency of General Robert E. Lee. He studied at Leipzig from 1872 to 1874, taking the doctorate with high distinction. During the years 1870 to 1875, except while absent in Europe, he was a member of the faculty of Washington College, now known as Washington and Lee; from 1875 to 1883 he was Professor of Greek in Vanderbilt University. He occupied the chair of Greek in the University of Texas from 1883 to 1887, and finally came to rest in the University of Virginia, where he rounded out a quarter of a century of service, from 1887 until 1912, when he retired. During the period of his activity as an instructor, Humphreys was a valued contributor to the *American Journal of Philology*, where some of his articles, particularly those on dramatic subjects, attracted much attention. He published in 1885 an edition of Aristophanes' *Clouds*. More independent, and even now a noteworthy work, is his edition of the *Antigone*, which was published in 1891. Finally at the close of his teaching career (in 1913) he published his admirable edition of Demosthenes' *De Corona*.

His letters to Professor Charles Forster Smith throw an interesting and at times a rather amusing light upon his last years. It is unfortunate that the

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space available for this brief notice does not permit quotation from them at length. It is with almost incredulous wonder that we learn that, when well along in the seventies, hearing of the sinking of an American ship by a German war vessel, he promptly offered himself to the government as an artillerist, since that had been his branch of service in the Civil War. It appears that he actually hoped to be permitted to serve, but in the end, as anybody but himself might have foreseen, he was obliged to console himself with studies and articles on the subject of modern ballistics.

One of the unusual features of Humphreys' mentality was that throughout his life he continued to be a good mathematician. It is said that when a young student he wavered for a time before deciding to choose classics rather than mathematics for his special field of study; and in 1920 he writes to Professor Smith: "A mathematician has applied to me for criticism of a solution of the general cubic equation without eliminating the second term, as has been the method hitherto."

The sturdy physique of the mountain boy stood him in good stead to the last. There is a quaint paragraph in one of his letters describing how he used to gather nuts to feed the squirrels that passed the winter around his house, and he says that in his seventy-ninth year he had several times carried a bushel or more of heavy green unhulled walnuts more than three miles through the woods without removing the sack from his shoulder.

Not the least notable mark of Humphreys' personality was his great modesty in matters where his own work was concerned. When Professor Charles Forster Smith was a student at Leipzig, he found still current among the Americans sojourning there a story that the young Humphreys had been very nervous about the acceptance of his dissertation. He remained in this uncertain state of mind until one day Ritschl in one of his lectures alluded to the notable contribution to metrical study which had been made by a doctor's dissertation recently submitted and soon to be published. This was Humphreys' own thesis.

Students of the classics who have associations with the South have long taken a great pride in Humphreys' career; but his scholarship was of far more than local importance in the period of his activity, and it is very fitting that this Association should pay its tribute to the memory of an able scholar and a rugged and remarkable personality.

Fourth Session

Saturday morning, December 28.

This session was opened at 9:30 A.M. with President Frank in the chair. The following report of the Treasurer was read and accepted.

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REPORT OF THE TREASURER

RECEIPTS

Balance, December 18, 1929		$2833.81
Membership dues, annual	$3101.55	
Membership dues, life	50.25	
Sales of *Transactions* and reprints	494.58	
Initiation fees	355.10	
Income from Endowment Fund	1078.89	
Dividends H. & C. W. R. R.	6.00	
Interest on deposits	107.52	
Income from French securities	12.50	
Corrections and plates	39.00	
Philological Association of the Pacific Coast	213.12	
Total receipts to December 18, 1929		5458.51
		$8292.32

EXPENDITURES

Transactions and *Proceedings*	$2587.82	
Salary of Secretary and Treasurer (13 months)	812.50	
Printing and stationery	142.98	
Postage and envelopes	138.86	
Supplies	5.70	
Traveling expenses, J. W. Hewitt	31.13	
Traveling expenses, W. K. Prentice and W. B. McDaniel	19.86	
Contribution to A. C. L. S.	51.65	
Life membership fee transferred to Endowment	50.25	
Two fifths of initiation fees	124.04	
Refund	4.00	
Collection of checks	1.57	
Superannuated French coupons	2.88	
Interest on Monograph Fund, March 12, 1928, to April 30, 1929	311.20	
		4284.44
Balance, December 18, 1929		$4007.88

The report of the Treasurer was adopted. For the nominating committee Edward Kennard Rand presented the following nominations: President, Charles Burton Gulick; First Vice-President, Henry Washington Prescott; Second Vice-President, Ivan Mortimer Linforth; Secretary and Treasurer, Joseph William Hewitt; executive committee, the above-named officers and Campbell Bonner, Elizabeth Hazelton Haight, Austin Morris Harmon, Duane Reed Stuart, George

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Depue Hadzsits, Marbury Bladen Ogle, Berthold Louis Ullman; for member of the committee on publication of monographs for five years and as chairman of the committee, Frederick William Shipley; for representative to the American Council of Learned Societies for four years, Clarence Powers Bill. By the vote of the Association the Secretary cast one ballot for those nominated and they were declared elected.

For the committee on place of meeting Elizabeth Hazelton Haight reported, recommending the acceptance of the invitation from the University of Iowa. This report was adopted. For the committee on resolutions Cornelia C. Coulter reported as follows:

We, the members of the American Philological Association, desire to express to the Boston Society of the Archaeological Institute and to Boston University, and particularly to Professor George H. Chase and his associates on the local committee, our sincere thanks for their gracious hospitality and their thoughtful provisions for our comfort and convenience. We are indebted to Boston University and to the management of the Hotel Statler for the privilege of using their rooms both for the formal sessions of the Association and for informal gatherings of smaller groups. To the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum and to the Germanic Museum, the Semitic Museum, the Peabody Museum, and the Fogg Art Museum in Cambridge, we owe thanks for an opportunity to view their beautiful and interesting collections. We remember with special appreciation the tea at the Fogg Art Museum and the delightful luncheon tendered to us at the Hotel Statler by the Archaeological Institute; and for these and all other kindnesses we would express our deepest gratitude to our hosts.

These resolutions were adopted.

The committee to audit the Treasurer's accounts reported as follows:

This is to certify that we have examined the accounts of the Treasurer of the American Philological Association and find them correct, the entries corresponding to the vouchers and the cash in banks corresponding with the balance shown on the books.

(Signed) LEROY C. BARRET, NORMAN W. DEWITT } *Auditors.*

The report of George A. Plimpton, Treasurer of the Endowment Fund, was summarized, showing a balance of $1547.24. The amount of the principal was reported as $13,800. The whole report follows:

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THE AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION ENDOWMENT FUND
STATEMENT OF CASH RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS
DECEMBER 1, 1928, TO NOVEMBER 30, 1929

RECEIPTS

1928				
Dec. 1	Balance on hand, New York Trust Co. . . .			$1,380.34
Dec. 20	J. W. Hewitt, Secretary—Memberships . . .		$ 274.00	
Dec. 28	Interest on deposits		2.15	
1929				
Jan. 29	Interest on deposits		2.35	
Feb. 1	Income on $2,000 Part. B/M Manida Corp'n .		53.90	
Feb. 27	Interest on deposits		2.82	
Mar. 15	Income on $6,800 Part. B/M Crosby Constr'n Co.	$187.00		
	Less 2% com'n N. Y. Trust Co.	3.74		
			183.26	
Mar. 28	Interest on deposits		2.67	
Apr. 10	Income on $2,000 Part. B/M Rondack Garage Corp'n	60.00		
	Less 2% com'n N. Y. Trust Co.	1.20		
			58.80	
April 29	Interest on deposits		3.23	
May 29	Income on $8,000 Part. B/M John Viviani & Son due 5/29/29:			
	Interest to 5/1/29	240.00		
	Less 2% com'n N. Y. Trust Co.	4.80		
		235.20		
	6% accrued interest	1.11		
			236.31	
May 29	$8,000 Part. B/M John Viviani & Son Inc., S/E cor. Bradhurst Ave. & 155th St., N. Y. C., with $37.33 accrued interest to date:			
	Interest 5/1/29 to 5/29/29 . . .	37.33		
	Less 2% com'n	.75		
		36.58	8,036.58	
May 29	Interest on deposits		2.56	
June 28	Interest on deposits		1.98	
July 29	Interest on deposits		2.30	
Aug. 1	Income on $2,000 Part. B/M Manida Corp'n .		55.00	
Aug. 29	Interest on deposits		2.51	
Sept. 27	Interest on deposits		2.55	

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Oct. 2	Income on $6,000 Part. B/M Crosby Constr'n Co. to 9/15/29	$187.00		
	Less 2% com'n N. Y. Trust Co.	3.74		
			183.26	
	Adjustment of interest 9/15 to 10/2 . . .		.52	
Oct. 10	Income on $2,000 Part. B/M Rondack Garage Corp'n:			
	Interest to 10/1	60.00		
	Less 2% com'n N. Y. Trust Co.	1.20		
			58.80	
Oct. 31	Income on $3,000 Part. B/M Edith Logan Dilworth (due 5/9/39) . .	86.50		
	Less 2% com'n N. Y. Trust Co.	1.73		
			84.77	
Oct. 31	Interest on deposits		2.67	
Nov. 29	Interest on deposits		2.80	
	Total receipts, year ending Nov. 30, 1929			9,255.79
				$10,636.13

DISBURSEMENTS

1929			
May 1	Transfer to Monograph Fund	$5,000.00	
May 9	J. W. Hewitt, Treas., interest earned Endowment Fund, May 1, 1928, to April 30, 1929 .	1,078.89	
May 29	Purchase of $3,000 Part. B/M Edith Logan Dilworth, Spring Hill, Roslyn, New York, due May 9, 1939, interest 6% payable May 1 and Nov. 1, with $10.00 accrued interest to date	3,010.00	
	Total disbursements, year ending Nov. 30, 1929 . .		9,088.89
	Balance on hand, New York Trust Company, November 30, 1929		$ 1,547.24

THE AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION MONOGRAPH FUND
RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS
YEAR ENDING NOVEMBER 30, 1929

RECEIPTS

1929			
May 1	Transfer from Endowment Fund, as per instructions. (Received from Carnegie Corporation March 1, 1928)	$5,000.00	
May 15	J. W. Hewitt, refund from Endowment Fund, interest on $5,000 from March 12, 1928, to April 30, 1929, at 5½%	311.20	

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Oct. 31	Income on $5,000 Part. B/M Edith Logan Dilworth	$144.17		
	Less com'n N. Y. Trust Co. . . .	2.88		
			141.29	
	TOTAL RECEIPTS			$5,452.49
	DISBURSEMENTS			
1929				
May 29	Purchase of $5,000 Part. B/M Edith Logan Dilworth, Spring Hill, Roslyn, N. Y., due May 9, 1939, interest 6% payable May 1 and Nov. 1, with $16.67 accrued interest to date		$5,016.67	
Nov. 14	New York Trust Company, 2½% commission on $141.29 for care of securities for six months ending November 1, 1929		3.53	
	TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS			$5,020.20
	Balance on hand, New York Trust Co., November 30, 1929			$ 432.29

Frederick William Shipley spoke on the work and the plans of the monograph committee. President Frank appointed, as new member of the nominating committee, Clarence Powers Bill of Western Reserve University. At this meeting about 130 were in attendance.

In response to a letter written to the British Classical Association by President Frank, the following note was received too late to be read at the meeting:

Dear Professor:

In the name of the Classical Association I send to you and the Philological Society our sincere thanks for the New Year's Greetings conveyed to us in your letter. We send you herewith our best wishes and hopes that the present year may prove a prosperous one to you and your Society and to the cause of Classics in America.

Yours sincerely,

E. NORMAN GARDINER.

FIFTH SESSION

Saturday afternoon, December 29.

The Association met at 2:00 o'clock P.M. in Jacob Sleeper Hall. Harold North Fowler presided during the first part of the meeting, President Tenney Frank during the latter half. This session was devoted entirely to the reading of papers and about sixty people were in attendance.

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ABSTRACTS

1. *Utopian Esthetics,* by Frances Theresa Russell, Stanford University.

The imaginative construction of ideal states has appealed to so many minds that nearly a hundred of these visioned exemplars may be listed, stretching in time from Plato's *Critias* in the fourth century B.C. to Younghusband's *The Coming Country* in 1929 A.D., and varying as widely in nature and value. This variance is particularly noticeable in the matter of artistry, both of and in the Utopias.

As to the first, the writings themselves are of uneven literary merit because of the sharp contrasts in authorship. Analysis of technique reveals the importance of such stylistic elements as plausible and picturesque narrative, romantic framework, dramatization of philosophy, concentration on the relevant, logical procedure, play of imagination, presence of wit and humor.

As to the second, the place accorded by the different Utopians to the esthetic side of life reflects at once each author's personality and his historic period. Since any complete Utopia deals with the major issues in human experience—government, education, labor, leisure, domesticity, ethics, religion, science, art—any one of them might be singled out for special study. The last, however, is of unusual significance on account of the growing modern interest in the subject.

Utopian recognition of beauty, and provision for its production and enjoyment are evinced by the emphasis on the useful arts, the encouragement of craftsmanship, the function of the fine arts in recreation, in worship, and in pure appreciation, and other means and aspects.

2. *Further Discoveries in the Temple of the Palmyrene Gods at Doura,* by Clark Hopkins, Yale University.

During the excavations of 1928–1929 at Doura an important inscription concerning an earthquake was found inside the tower of the Palmyrene Temple. The tower lies within the precinct of the temple but forms an intrinsic part of the city's fortification. The tower, however, proved to be of two distinct parts, and it became clear that the city wall had enclosed an older building when the circuit of the city was made. The altar and inscription

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found within suggest that this earlier building had been the original sanctuary. This supposition was supported by the *graffiti* of an early type scratched on the walls and by curious representations of dancing figures chipped in the stone blocks. When the city wall was built, it was extended to this distant corner of the site to include this precinct; and the new temple was erected in this far angle of the wall to take the place of the sanctuary included in the fortifications.

3. *Aeneas sub Templo*, by Caro Lynn, Wheaton College.

When Virgil's heroine first appears to the hero and to the reader, she comes well guarded and queenly, divinely tall and most divinely fair.

> Tum foribus divae, media testudine templi,
> Saepta armis solioque alte subnixa resedit.

It is a beautiful entrance. But the alleged incompatibility of the phrases *foribus divae* and *media testudine templi* has resulted in some architectural confusion; and to the description of Aeneas awaiting the queen, in the passage,

> Namque sub ingenti lustrat dum singula templo
> reginam opperiens,

our students find appended such notes as, "From these words we infer that Aeneas has stepped within the temple"; "*sub:* because they are under the dome"; "The temple had a vaulted roof (called *testudo*, as resembling the shell of a tortoise)". Thus one sees Aeneas wandering through the dimly lit interior of a domed temple, looking at a panorama painted about mid-wall, and unable to see the royal approach until the throng of Trojan and Tyrian alike troop into the very temple. This interpretation not only makes an awkward situation, but is contrary to the usage of *sub*, is not necessitated by *foribus*, *testudo*, or *media*, and is opposed by *hoc in luco;* while the conception of a Greek temple, its closed *fores* with their outside decoration forming a background for the throne set in the pillared porch and protected by the *testudo*, with Aeneas *sub templo* (outside) looking up at his sculptured biography, gives the scene an artistic completeness.

This paper attempts to delete the domed temple from this scene.

4. *Poetic Justice in the Aeneid*, by E. Adelaide Hahn, Hunter College.

The Aeneid is very sad, pervaded by *lacrimae rerum.* Even

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the gods' justice is questioned. Yet a code of poetic justice prevails which makes men's sufferings, though not less pitiable, at least more comprehensible. Examples:

Punishment of the condemned fits the crime. Titans assail high Olympus, are buried *fundo in imo*. Salmoneus mimics Jupiter's lightning, is killed by *genuine* thunderbolt.

Wrongful prayers avail not. Dido, whose people habitually outrage hospitality, prays to Jupiter as the god of hospitality for happiness. Arruns prays trickily to Apollo for life. Neither prayer granted.

Many suffer as they make others suffer. Pyrrhus kills Priam at the altar, is killed by Orestes at the altar. Dido gives Iarbas cause for complaint of ingratitude, is given similar cause by Aeneas. Turnus wishes Pallas' father could see Pallas' death; vainly begs Aeneas to pity his own father.

Many "eat their words." Mezentius calls his weapon *god;* it misses Aeneas and goes astray, but *pius* Aeneas' weapon wounds Mezentius. Turnus boasts his sword will avail against Aeneas; it breaks when he encounters Aeneas. Turnus boasts, "Sunt et mea contra fata mihi"; he later admits, "Iam iam fata, soror, superant." Turnus rebuffs pseudo-Calybe; in hour of need, men desert him and he must depend on woman (Camilla). Numanus calls Phryges "Phrygiae," and says, "Sinite arma viris"; he is shot by Phrygian, not a *man* but a mere *boy*.

Many work their own undoing: Gyas by throwing the steersman overboard; Pandarus and Bitias by disobedience; Euryalus and Camilla by lust for spoils; Tolumnius by dishonor (he urges breaking the truce, and is first one killed); Turnus by violence (once his *furor* prevents decisive victory), and by cruelty (takes Pallas' belt).

Virtue brings its own reward: Aeneas, engaged in pious rites for Misenus, finds the golden bough.

5. *Alexander's Descent of the Indus,* by Charles Alexander Robinson, Jr., Brown University.

We have a fairly clear account for the first years of Alexander's campaign in Asia. This is not so for the last years of the expedition. The accounts of Arrian, Diodorus, Curtius, Justin, and Plutarch, the chief sources of our knowledge, correspond to a certain extent, but there are many seeming differences. This is particularly true for Alexander's journey down the Indus to Patala. A reading of the five authors mentioned above leaves one with a

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sense of confusion. For example, the names of tribes and kings met by Alexander are often different. This may be partly explained, of course, by the unfamiliarity of later writers with this part of the world. The present paper discusses Alexander's descent of the Indus and makes clear in detail the route and actions of Alexander.

6. *Aulus Gellius and the Theatre,* by Frederick Warren Wright, Smith College.

In this paper a survey is made of Aulus Gellius' quotations from the dramatists and his references to dramatic authors, actors, and the theater to see what immediate contact may be detected between him and the stage. Twenty-one Latin and fourteen Greek playwrights are mentioned. To many the references are few and unimportant. Aside from the great mass of lexicographic citations and the illustrations of non-literary topics, there is a numerous group relating to literary history and literary criticism. Since all the authors, both Latin and Greek, were dead at least two centuries before Gellius' time, and since he makes no allusion to a revival of their works on the stage, it appears that this material was not gathered from his own observation but from reading, often in secondary sources. The same conclusion is drawn concerning what he says of actors. References to the theatre and dramatic events, also, are largely to the past. The two or three incidental allusions to the mime are suspected of having a traditional origin. Probably with Aristotle, Gellius regarded *τοὺς περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνίτας* as especially prone to wickedness, and the theatre itself as unworthy his notice.

7. *Thirteen Months in the History of the Rostra,* by Frederick William Shipley, Washington University.

Can the so-called hemicycle at the west end of the Forum possibly be identified with the Rostra of Julius Caesar? Dio (XVIII, 49) states that Caesar in his fifth consulship (44 B.C.) moved the Rostra from its old position to that which it occupied in Dio's day, and yielded to Antony the glory of the work and the inscription upon it. If this is correct there were placed upon this new Rostra between January 1, 44 B.C., and February 1, 43, six statues: statues of Sulla and Pompey (the former, equestrian, Cic., *Phil.* IX, 6, 13) which Dio, *l.c.*, says Caesar now restored to the Rostra; the statue of Caesar (Nic. Damasc., *Caes.* 20; Cic., *Fam.* XII, 3), also probably equestrian (Vell. II, 61); an equestrian statue of

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Octavian voted at the end of 44 B.C. and erected on the Rostra (Vell. II, 61; Cic., *ad Brut.* I, 15, 7; App., *B.C.* III, 51); an equestrian statue voted to Lepidus, on the motion of Cicero, in January 43 B.C., and thrown down after Lepidus was declared a public enemy (Cic., *Phil.* V, 40–41; XIII, 4, 9; *ad Brut.* I, 15, 9; Dio, XLVI, 51); a standing statue to Ser. Sulpicius Rufus voted in January, B.C. 43, Cicero's motion providing that it have free space of five feet about it from which Sulpicius' descendants might view games and gladiatorial contests (Cic., *Phil.* IX, 6, 16; Pompon. *Dig.* I, 1, 2, 43).

The hemicycle platform is barely two metres wide, inadequate for the free space about the statue of Sulpicius, and for the three (possibly five) equestrian statues erected on the Rostra during this period. The statues alone, aside from the purposes of the monument, required a much wider platform. The hemicycle does not fit the known facts attested by contemporary or nearly contemporary authorities. If it was the work of Julius Caesar, it can only have formed a part of his Rostra.

8. *Illustrations from the Vernacular in Teaching the Sound-changes of a Foreign Language,* by Charles Rockwell Lanman, Harvard University.

Some fifty-eight years ago, I began the study of Sanskrit under that greatest of all American language-scholars of his time, William Dwight Whitney. We used the grammar of Monier Williams of Oxford. Even Williams seemed to realise that the laws governing the combinations of sounds into words and of words into phrases would appear to healthy young Englishmen to be absurdly artificial and unnatural. He told us that the four Latin words *rara avis in terris* would become, if they were Sanskrit, *rarāvir ins terriḥ*. But he passed by the wealth of striking illustrations which are ready at hand in our own native English as we speak it every day —without ever dreaming that the laws exist and that we obey them as naturally as the Hindu does in speaking Sanskrit. Take, as examples of sentence combination:

The dog 'z dead. The cat 's alive.
Tom 'z a peach. Jack's another.

Palatalization of original gutturals is a very important and common sound-change. The original guttural *k*-sound of Latin *lic-tus* or *linquo* appears as a *cha*-sound in Sanskrit *ric-yate*, with reversion to *k* in the derivative *rek-a*. English kept in the north the old *k*-sound in *kirk*, and palatalises it in the southern form *church*.

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So *brig* in the north and *bridge* in the south. *Spring*, but *springes*. So in derivatives: "*bake* a *batch* of bread." A systematic exploitation of the rich material of our mother-tongue would prove highly interesting and rewarding and of utmost usefulness in making the phenomena of the strange tongue (like Sanskrit) appear amazingly familiar and natural.

9. *The Conclusion of the Odyssey*, by Augustus Taber Murray, Stanford University. No abstract furnished.

10. *Aeneas and Dido in the Light of Modern Criticism*, by Lionel Denis Peterkin, Harvard University.

The paper considers Aeneas' treatment of Dido and its bearing on his role as hero of *Aeneid*.

A proper estimate of the relations between Aeneas and Dido is essential to a true understanding of the character of Aeneas and to judgment of Virgil as an artist.

Conflicting views of Virgilian scholars.

(*a*) Aeneas behaves as a cad.

(*b*) Aeneas loves Dido but his sense of duty is superior to love and so the woman is sacrificed to the state.

The writer agrees that Aeneas is not in love with Dido but thinks his behavior is humanly understandable and psychologically true.

The inner workings of the minds of Aeneas and Dido reflected in story are analyzed to prove this. From this analysis the following conclusions emerge.

(*a*) Aeneas, never in love with Dido at any stage, faltered temporarily in his purpose but would have continued on his way even without divine bidding.

(*b*) Judgment of Aeneas must not be biased by a sentiment which did not exist in minds of Virgil's contemporaries.

(*c*) Virgil is not criticising (as Conway suggests) the treatment of woman in his own day but, as elsewhere, his sympathy enabled him to see and present both sides of the picture.

(*d*) Virgil's psychology is not at fault but shows subtle understanding of the male and the female heart.

11. *Notes on the Fifteenth Century Manuscripts of Petronius*, by Evan Taylor Sage and Nancy Margaret Miller, University of Pittsburgh.

This paper is a report of progress in the study of history and relationships of the minor manuscripts of Petronius including the

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manuscripts hitherto unused. A final decision is as yet impossible, but an attempt is made to indicate the materials available, the methods used, and to consider apparent results already reached.

12. *The Early Editions of Petronius*, by Evan Taylor Sage, University of Pittsburgh.

This paper examines the 1482, 1499, and 1520 editions of the *Satiricon*, from the standpoint of their relationship to one another and to the manuscripts, of which complete new collations are now at hand. This examination considers the manuscript sources of these editions and the nature and quality of the scholarship displayed in them. The 1520 edition is of special importance in the development of the text because it was one of the authorities used in editions like that of Tornaesius.

13. *The Poetic Diction of Aeschylus*, by Herbert Weir Smyth, Harvard University.

With the possible exception of some part of the earliest Ionic prose—itself largely poetical—as the cosmogonic treatise *On Nature and the Gods* by Pherecydes of Leros, and Hecataeus' *περίοδος γῆς*, a literary language other than that of poetry was unknown to Aeschylus. Attic literary prose did not exist in his time. With the vocabulary of poetry he might contrast the "real language of men"—the speakers in the Senate, the Assembly, the Law-Courts, the daily talk, more or less refined, of other men of Marathon, and in early Comedy.

In one sense, the Attic tragic poets "writ no language," as Dr. Johnson said of Spenser. It was Euripides who first wrought a successful illusion by picking his words from the language of ordinary life. Aeschylus (except in his satyr plays) and Sophocles have little sympathy with the proletariat of speech. The diction of the earlier dramatist, wherever it is not common to prose and poetry, moves in an elevated sphere. It is much farther removed than the diction of Sophocles from the language of a heightened prose style. It abounds in obsolescent or obsolete words and in words coined by him on ancient models; it creates an arresting sense of strangeness of effect by the frequent recourse to the unfamiliar which conduces to elevation.

This paper discusses many words called 'poetic' because they are never, or rarely, found in Standard Attic—the orators, except Antiphon, the Comic poets wherever their style is not colored by reminiscences or mockeries of epic, lyric, or tragic diction. Ex-

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cluded are various compounds that are manifestly 'poetic'; dialectal variations and other mere differences of form such as are regarded as characteristic of poetry by Aristotle and Demetrius; and all words (several hundred in number) which appear in Aeschylus and in no other Greek writer in poetry or prose.

14. *Caesar's Final Battle with the Helvetians*, by James Eugene Dunlap, University of Michigan.

The almost universally accepted interpretation of Caesar's account of his final conflict with the Helvetians is that of Colonel Stoffel, or the modification of it by Bircher. Each of these theories presents very serious difficulties. That of Stoffel makes it impossible to explain Caesar's statement that the Boii and Tulingi attempted an attack on his right flank, while that of Bircher is almost absurd in view of the flight of the Helvetians to the land of the Lingones.

I believe that Stoffel (followed by Bircher) was wrong in his gratuitous assumption that the Helvetians, after crossing the Arroux at Toulon, followed the road toward Decetia. There was a pre-Roman road running in a southwesterly direction from Toulon which would have been more direct, and there were convenient bridges elsewhere than at Decetia. On the assumption that the Helvetians turned toward the southwest at Toulon, it is easy to understand how they "followed the rear" of Caesar's column marching to Bibracte. It is also a simple matter to harmonize the statements of Caesar that the Boii and Tulingi threatened his right wing and that the refugees fled toward the land of the Lingones.

The hill on which Caesar posted his forces most probably rose on the west side of the route which he was following from Toulon toward Bibracte, and the hill to which the Helvetians retreated probably lay across the line of march to the east or southeast. Since Caesar made no attempt to surround the hill or to follow the enemy as they moved away from the field of battle, it seems not improbable that the height on which they had taken refuge was the spur of a rough or wooded ridge extending in a northerly or easterly direction, such as to facilitate the escape of the Helvetians to the country of the Lingones. The exact location of the battlefield can hardly be determined without actual examination of the region between Toulon and Bibracte. Rau has given reason to believe that the battle occurred farther from Toulon than the site chosen by Stoffel. Possibly the scene of the encounter was in the valley south of St. Didier-sur-Arroux.

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15. *Portrait of a Boeotian Lady*, by Edith Frances Claflin, Rosemary Hall.

An attempt is made in this paper to sketch against the somewhat sombre background of the life of Greek women in general, and of Athenian women in particular, as depicted in our handbooks and in special works (such, for example, as *The Athenian Family* by C. A. Savage), the portrait of a Boeotian lady of the third century B.C. The position of women in the Minoan Age seems to have been in some respects freer than that of women in the historical period. In the Homeric Age a measure of the earlier freedom appears to have subsisted. Economic and political conditions gradually led to that restriction in the social sphere of women which is so striking an anomaly in the generally democratic development at Athens. The status of women in other Greek communities, notably in Sparta, remained freer than in Athens.

In the Hellenistic Age, with the general breaking down of barriers and the widening of men's minds which resulted from the merging of the narrow city-state in a larger whole, came an amelioration in the lot of Greek women. In the latter part of the third century in the remarkable *Nikareta inscription*, from Orchomenos, we have data from which we may discern, through the details of an important business transaction, the character and position of a Boeotian lady of wealth and prominence, Nikareta.

16. *Bucephalas and his Legend*, by Andrew Runni Anderson, Duke University.

Bucephalas plays a part in history and in romance as the equine counterpart of Alexander. Legend regarded him as born at the same time as his master. The Ethiopian version of the Alexander Romance represents Bucephalas as conceived at the same time and of the same seed. He was probably about twelve years younger; for Alexander can hardly have been much less than fifteen when he tamed him (cf. *Alex. Rom.* I, 13, 15, 17), and the horse cannot have reached fifteen before being tamed. The story told by Plutarch (*Alex.* 6) is essentially authentic. Bucephalas died in India soon after the battle of the Hydaspes, not at about thirty of exhaustion and old age according to Onesicritus, but from wounds received in the battle, the more plausible view put forward in the Alexander Romance, if his age was eighteen rather than thirty. The equine counterpart of Alexander should strictly die at the same time, and in C (*Alex. Rom.* III, 33) he dies not only in India but also at Babylon.

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The taming of Bucephalas is a reflection of Heracles taming the steeds of Diomede. The prophecy of world empire for him who could ride Bucephalas is probably an adaptation of the oracle of the Gordian Knot, and seems to occur in embryo, Plut. *Alex.* 6 end.

Lysippus represented Alexander on Bucephalas in at least one of his works. This was later tampered with and set up in Rome as an equestrian statue of Julius Caesar, with Caesar's head substituted for Alexander's and the forefeet refashioned to resemble human (*sic*) feet. Such is the probable interpretation of Statius, *Silv.* I, 85 ff., cf. Suet. *Jul.* 61. The prophecy of world empire destined for the one who could ride Bucephalas was transferred to Caesar, and the modification of the statue would be an important step marking the transfer.

17. *The Significance of the Manuscrito Ár. XXVII de la Biblioteca de la Junta in the Tradition of the Alexander Legend,* by Andrew Runni Anderson, Duke University.

In the history of the Alexander Legend Spain occupies a unique position; for here converged, without really uniting or mixing, the two lines of the δ-family. From the north came the occidental derived from Constantinople through the arch-priest Leo of Naples, tenth century. From the south came the oriental, derived successively from the lost Pahlavi version (VI), the extant Syrian version (VII), and the supposedly lost Arabic version (IX?). From this Arabic version there was derived the extant Ethiopian version (XIV–XVI). It had been reasonably conjectured that this lost Arabic version had used *Koran* 18, 82 ff. which deals with the hero Dulcarnain and his gate, that this passage was based mainly on the Christian *Syrian Legend* of Alexander (early VI), de-christianized and then moslemized to fit it to its new surroundings and audience. Inasmuch as in the Ethiopian version Alexander is a Christian, the Arabic version which served as its principal source must in turn have been de-moslemized and rechristianized. But there are still left in the Ethiopian version many signs of its Arabic and Mohammedan origin.

Even as we speak of the lost Arabic version, there is published *Un Texto Árabe Occidental de la Leyenda de Alejandro* by Emilio García Gómez, Madrid, 1929.

It is clear that the first part of the romance has been much abridged, and that the imposture of Nectanebos has been eliminated altogether and also Bucephalas. The comparison with the

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Aljamiad version *Recontamiento del rey Alixandre* was necessitated to prove that our Arabic version was largely derived from quite other sources. The most astounding feature of this Alexander Romance is that Alexander does not appear in it at all, but has been completely superseded by Dulcarnain, *Lord of Two Horns.* Indeed even the title is significant—*History of Dulcarnain!*

18. *Silence in Tragedy and the Three Actor Rule,* by Alfred Cary Schlesinger, Williams College.

This is a discussion of certain passages cited by Kaffenberger as proving the existence of the three actor rule, his contention being that the characters as named below fail to appear or to speak because no regular actor was available at the time to take the part in question. The passages under discussion are as follows:

Persians, conclusion (absence of Atossa).
Ajax, first half, absence of Teucer; second half, silence of Tecmessa.
Trachiniae, 307 ff., silence of Iole.
Oedipus at Colonus, silence of Ismene.
Electra (Euripides), silence of Pylades.
Iphigenia in Tauria, 1217 f., Thoas veils his head.
Orestes, 124 f., silence of Hermione; 1591 f., silence of Pylades, Electra, and Hermione.

Kaffenberger, probably unconsciously, seems to maintain that a play is bettered by the introduction of many characters, each of whom has a great deal to say—that is, that no playwright would limit the active cast of his play, or the size of any part, unless he was compelled to do so. My conclusion is that the above characters are silent because they have nothing to contribute to the play, since (*a*) the Greek dramatists tended to economize on characters and sub-plots, and (*b*) when secondary characters appeared, Euripides being particularly inclined to use them, they were more often anonymous "types," like the Old Nurse of the *Choephoroi*, or the Old Man of Euripides' *Electra*, than such people as Pylades, who were in the legend, but were not made important, as a rule, in the play.

19. *Stichometric Evidence for Text Abbreviation in Chariton,* by Warren Everett Blake, University of Michigan.

1. A hitherto inexplicable "nonsense word" occurring in the Fayoum fragment of Chariton is shown to be an incorporated

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marginal note indicating the omission of one whole line in the predecessor of this papyrus which itself is contemporary with Chariton's age.

2. The 27–8 letter line unit thus obtained is applied to the "Theban Codex" to prove that certain of the differences between it and the unique medieval MS.—the Florentine—may be explained by similar deliberate excision of lines. The prevailing theory of Zimmermann as to the relation of these two texts is thus overthrown and partial reconstruction of an archetype is possible.

20. *Σύνναος Θεός*, by Arthur Darby Nock, Harvard University.

After enumerating the known Greek and Roman instances of the admission of a ruler to a place in the temple of a deity the paper first discussed the way in which this practice was founded on earlier Greek usage and belief, and in particular on the sharing of temples of gods by heroes, on certain honors paid to benefactors, and on a general absence of precise demarcation between cultus and merely complimentary proceeding. It then considered reasons why the practice was not more common, and in particular its inconvenience, its liability to wound local sentiment, and its insufficiency from the ruler's point of view. It concluded by asking why ruler worship in general emerged in the Greek world just before the end of the fifth century and not earlier and suggesting that the answer was largely to be sought in the decline of the influence of the Delphic oracle.

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PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE PACIFIC COAST

I. PROGRAM

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 29

FIRST SESSION, 10:30 A.M.

EDMUND KURT HELLER
Studies in the Alsatian *Parzival*

MARGERY BAILEY
The New Folk Song of the Romantics

S. L. MILLARD ROSENBERG
Ricardo Leon, Artist and Patriot

JOHN STRONG PERRY TATLOCK
Geoffrey of Monmouth

WILLIAM LEONARD SCHWARTZ
Caleb Bingham's Translation of *Atala*

DOROTHEA CLINTON WOODWORTH
Juno and Diana

SECOND SESSION, 2:00 P.M.

LOUIS WANN
New Light on the Composition of Some Poems of Edgar Allan Poe

WILLIAM FREDERIC BADÉ
A Jar Handle Stamp from Tell-En Nasbeh

HARDIN CRAIG
University Education through the Eyes of J. F. Ringelberg

CESAR BARJA
The Spiritual Significance of Unamuno's Work

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FRANCES THERESA RUSSELL
The Imaginative Element in Bernard Shaw's Writings

WILLIAM DIAMOND
Hermann Hesse's Philosophy of Life

DINNER AND SMOKER 7:00 P.M.

President's Address

AURELIO MACEDONIO ESPINOSA
Notes on the Origin of the Tar Baby Story

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 30

THIRD SESSION, 9:30 A.M.

ENGLISH SECTION

ARTHUR G. KENNEDY
On the Present State of Anglo-Saxon Lexicography

GEORGE R. STEWART, JR.
Local Color in Malory's *Morte d'Arthur*

ELIAS OLAN JAMES
The Personnel of the Elizabethan Privy Council as an Influence upon the Theatre

MILDRED C. STRUBLE
Some Comparisons between the Dictionaries of Bailey and Johnson

S. STEPHENSON SMITH
Rachel Taylor's Keats

FOREIGN LANGUAGE SECTION

CLARENCE DIETZ BRENNER
Jean-Jacques Bernard, Artist and Idealist

ALEXANDER KAUN
Maxim Gorky and the Exalted Spider

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LEAVITT OLDS WRIGHT
Teaching the Pronunciation of Spanish Simple -R-

HERMENEGILDO CORBATO
Some Outstanding and Recurring Themes in Valencian Literature

PAPERS READ BY TITLE

HOPE TRAVER
A Clue to the Original Attitude toward *Measure for Measure*

MAHLON ELLWOOD SMITH
Aesop, a Decayed Celebrity

HERBERT HUNTER VAUGHAN
Some Sicilian Geographical Names and the Possible Significance of their Present-Day Forms

HERBERT DOUGLAS AUSTIN
Heavenly Gold, Part of a Study of the Use of Color by Dante

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II. MINUTES

The thirty-first annual meeting of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast was held in the Faculty Women's Club at the University of California on November 29 and 30, 1929.

After a meeting of the executive committee at 10:00 A.M. the first session was called to order by President Espinosa at 10:30. The minutes of the previous annual meeting were approved as printed in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association* and in the *Proceedings of the American Philological Association.*

The secretary reported that during the past year fifteen members had been added, and eighteen lost, making a net decrease of three members. Of the lost members, seven had resigned, eight had been dropped for two years' delinquence in dues, and three had died, these being Malbone Watson Graham, Instructor in Romance Languages at the University of Michigan, Anette C. Ives, Assistant Professor of French at the University of Southern California, and Caroline H. Ober, Professor of Spanish at the University of Washington.

Election of the following persons to membership by the executive committee was reported:

Hugh C. Baker, Stanford University.
C. Valentine Boyer, University of Oregon.
Cesar Barja, University of California at Los Angeles.
Myron F. Brightfield, University of California.
Anna Cox Brinton, Mills College.
James M. Cline, University of California.
Hermenegildo Corbato, University of California.
Paul Louis Faye, University of California.
John D. Fitzgerald, University of Arizona.
J. H. Groth, University of Washington.
Maurice Hicklin, Humboldt State Teachers College.
E. Dewart Lewis, Marin Junior College.
Stella Lovering, Marysville Junior College.
Edith R. Mirrielees, Stanford University.

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P. R. Petsch, University of California at Los Angeles.
L. A. Quivey, University of Utah.
John Reid, Stanford University.
Federico Sanchez, University of California.
S. Stephenson Smith, University of Oregon.

The selection of Stanford University as the next meeting place of the Association was confirmed.

The secretary reported that a ballot had been conducted by correspondence among the members of the executive committee on the recommendation which was referred to it for action at last year's meeting, namely that the program should be consolidated into a single day; and that the committee voted unanimously against the proposal.

The meeting unanimously adopted the amendment to the constitution, of which notice was given last year, namely that the words in section 1, article II, be altered from "a secretary and a treasurer" to read "and a secretary-treasurer," and in section 2, article II, "of nine" be omitted.

The granting of fifty dollars for the secretarial expenses of the past year was approved, and a motion was adopted that the executive committee be authorized to pay to the secretary-treasurer each year such a sum as may seem fitting to cover secretarial expenses.

The financial report was submitted, and accepted subject to the approval of the auditing committee:

RECEIPTS		
Balance, December 1, 1928	$341.59	
Receipts from members	885.10	
Interest on deposits	9.95	
Refund from last treasurer	4.20	
Total receipts		$1,240.84
EXPENDITURES		
To Modern Language Association	$507.00	
To American Philological Association	213.12	
Annual meeting	10.00	
Postage	10.00	
Printing and stationery	128.60	
Secretarial expenses	50.00	
Total expenditures	918.72	
Balance in bank	322.12	
Total		$1,240.84

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The President announced the appointment of the following members to serve on committees:

Nominating: Briggs (1 year), Linforth (2 years), Cooper (3 years).
Auditing: Miss Bailey, Schneider.
Social: Hills (chairman), Kennedy, C. Price.

In the absence of Professors Briggs and Linforth, Professors Noyes and Altrocchi were appointed as substitutes on the nominating committee.

The reading and discussion of papers followed, the order of the printed program being adhered to. There were about 75 persons in attendance.

The second session was called to order at 2:00 P.M. and the printed program was followed. The attendance numbered about 52. At the close of the reading and discussion, the auditing committee reported having found the financial statement correct, and the nominating committee presented the following names:

President: Rudolph Schevill.
First Vice-President: William Diamond.
Second Vice-President: Herbert Douglas Austin.
Secretary-Treasurer: A. Lionel Stevenson.
Executive Committee: The above-named officers and Arthur G. Kennedy, Benjamin Oliver Foster, Percival Bradshaw Fay, and Dorothea C. Woodworth.

As there were no further nominations these officers were declared elected for the ensuing year.

The annual banquet was held at seven o'clock in the Women's Faculty Club, attended by sixty members and guests. President Espinosa presented his presidential address on *Notes on the Origin of the Tar Baby Story*, and after dinner speeches were given by Professors Hart, FitzGerald, and Harriman. The toastmaster was Professor Elijah Clarence Hills.

The third session was held on Saturday morning in two sections meeting simultaneously. In the English section, under the chairmanship of Professor Tatlock, the printed program was followed; in the Foreign Language section, with

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Professors Clarence Paschall and Rudolph Schevill alternately occupying the chair, certain changes were made: the papers of Professors Vaughan and Austin were read by title only, and the paper by Professor Kaun was read in his absence by Professor George Rapall Noyes.

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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL RECORD [1]

For the Calendar Year 1929

PRINCIPAL ABBREVIATIONS

A.A.—Art and Archaeology.
A.H.R.—American Historical Review.
A.J.A.—American Journal of Archaeology.
A.J.P.—American Journal of Philology.
Am.—American.
Arch.—Archaeology.
B.—Bulletin.
C.J.—Classical Journal.
C.P.—Classical Philology.
C.Q.—Classical Quarterly.
C.R.—Classical Review.
C.W.—Classical Weekly.
H.S.C.P.—Harvard Studies in Classical Philology.
J.—Journal.
J.A.O.S.—Journal of the American Oriental Society.
J.E.G.P.—Journal of English and Germanic Philology.
J.H.S.—Journal of Hellenic Studies.
J.R.S.—Journal of Roman Studies.
Lang.—Language.
Lit.—Literature.
L.C.L.—Loeb Classical Library.
M.—Magazine.
M.L.N.—Modern Language Notes.
Mo.—Monthly.
M.P.—Modern Philology.
N.I.Y.B.—New International Year Book.
P.A.P.A.—Proceedings of the American Philological Association.
P.M.L.A.—Publications of the Modern Language Association of America.
P.Q.—Philological Quarterly.
Pr.—Press.
Qu.—Quarterly.
Rev.—Review.
Rom.Rev.—Romanic Review.
S.P.—Studies in Philology.
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James Frederick Mountford

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Wilfred Pirt Mustard

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Edward Wilber Nichols

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Prof. Charles Darwin Adams, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H. 1892.

Miss Edith Adams, 8 Hampden St., Wellesley, Mass. 1921.

Pres. Cyrus Adler, Dropsie College, Philadelphia, Pa. (2041 N. Broad St.). 1883.

Prof. Walter R. Agard, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. (2326 Rugby Row). 1922.

*Dr. Augustus William Ahl, Susquehanna University, Selinsgrove, Pa. 1922.

Prof. Miriam C. Akers, Denison University, Granville, O. 1922.

Dean Francis Asbury Alabaster, Nebraska Wesleyan University, Lincoln, Neb. (5226 Madison Ave.). 1921.

Dr. Abel Alarcon, College of the Pacific, Stockton, Cal. (233 Euclid Ave., Pacific Manor). 1929.

Sister Mary Alexine, College of Mt. St. Joseph, Mt. St. Joseph, O. 1928.

*Bernard Melzar Allen, Roxbury School, Cheshire, Conn. 1921.

†Prof. Hamilton Ford Allen, University of New Hampshire, Durham, N. H. 1903.

Prof. James Turney Allen, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (37 Mosswood Rd.). 1898.

Prof. Katharine Allen, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. (228 Langdon St.). 1899.

Prof. May Alice Allen, Sophie Newcomb College, New Orleans, La. (Life member). 1920.

William Henry Allen, 3345 Woodland Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 1917.

Dr. Anne Crosby Emery Allinson, 163 George St., Providence, R. I. (Life member). 1920.

*Prof. Francis Greenleaf Allinson, Brown University, Providence, R. I. (163 George St.). Life member. 1893.

Prof. Clara Janet Allison, Michigan State Normal College, Ypsilanti, Mich. 1921.

*Prof. Andrew Runni Anderson, Duke University, Durham, N. C. 1905.

Dr. Florence Mary Bennett Anderson (Mrs. L. F.), 364 Boyer Ave., Walla Walla, Wash. (Life member). 1910.

Prof. Frederick Anderson, Stanford University, Cal. (Box 1138). 1923.

† Died, Aug. 14, 1929.

[1] This list has been corrected up to April 15, 1929. The Secretary begs to be kept informed of all changes of address. Names marked with an asterisk are those of members who attended the sixtieth annual meeting, held in New York City, in December, 1928.

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Prof. Louis Francis Anderson, Whitman College, Walla Walla, Wash. (364 Boyer Ave.) Life member. 1887.

Basil Anderton, Chief Librarian, Public Library, New Bridge St., Newcastle-upon-Tyne, England. 1925.

Miss Mabel F. Arbuthnot, Butler University, Indianapolis, Ind. 1928.

George Allison Armour, Princeton, N. J. (Life member). 1921.

Prof. Mary E. Armstrong, Olivet College, Olivet, Mich. 1921.

Harrison B. Ash, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1924.

Prof. William G. Aurelio, Boston University, Boston, Mass. (199 Audubon St.). 1903.

Prof. Herbert Douglas Austin, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, Cal. 1924.

*Prof. James Curtiss Austin, Colgate University, Hamilton, N. Y. 1921.

Maurice W. Avery, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass. (75 Meacham St.). 1922.

Prof. Harold L. Axtell, University of Idaho, Moscow, Id. 1922.

Prof. C. C. Ayer, University of Colorado, Boulder, Col. 1902.

Miss Marian L. Ayer, Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass. 1925.

*Prof. Frank Cole Babbitt, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. (65 Vernon St.). 1897.

Prof. Earle Brownell Babcock, 173 Boulevard St. Germain, Paris, France (Life member). 1913.

*Dean William Frederic Badé, Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley, Cal. (2616 College Ave.). 1903.

John Crooks Bailey, Jr., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1930.

Prof. Allan P. Ball, College of the City of New York, New York City. 1905.

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*Prof. Floyd George Ballentine, Bucknell University, Lewisburg, Pa. 1903.

Dr. Susan H. Ballou, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1912.

Cecil K. Bancroft, Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass. 1898.

*Miss Edith Bancroft, 21 Crystal St., Melrose, Mass. 1921.

Prof. Amy Louise Barbour, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. (234 Crescent St.). 1902.

*Prof. LeRoy Carr Barret, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. 1906.

Sister M. Inviolata Barry, Our Lady of the Lake, San Antonio, Tex. 1924.

Phillips Barry, 3 Craigie Circle, Cambridge, Mass. 1927.

Dr. John Edmund Barss, Loomis Institute, Windsor, Conn. 1897.

Prof. George Lloyd Barton, Jr., Virginia Military Institute, Lexington, Va. (Drawer 925). 1919.

Prof. John William Basore, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1902.

Prof. Henry Jewell Bassett, Southwestern, Memphis, Tenn. 1919.

*Prof. Samuel Eliot Bassett, University of Vermont, Burlington, Vt. 1903.

Prof. William Nickerson Bates, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. (220 St. Mark's Square). 1894.

Prof. William James Battle, University of Texas, Austin, Tex. (Life member). 1893.

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Prof. Paul Victor Christopher Baur, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (Box 1843, Yale Station). 1902.

Goodwin Batterson Beach, 64 Pearl St., Hartford, Conn. (Life member). 1930.

John W. Beach, 171 Calumet Ave., Aurora, Ill. 1902.

George H. Beal, 138 West 65th St., New York City. 1922.

Prof. Edward Ambrose Bechtel, Tulane University of Louisiana, New Orleans, La. 1900.

Dr. Edith A. Beck, Bradford Academy, Bradford, Mass. 1923.

Prof. William C. Beckman, The Mission House, Plymouth, Wis. 1927.

Prof. Isbon T. Beckwith, Highland Court, Hartford, Conn. 1884.

Prof. Charles Henry Beeson, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. (1228 E. 56th St.). 1897.

Prof. Gertrude H. Beggs, University of Richmond, Richmond, Va. 1912.

Miss Ora M. Belden, Catlin School, Portland, Ore. 1929.

Alfred Raymond Bellinger, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (Box 1406, Yale Station). 1920.

Prof. Harold H. Bender, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1912.

Prof. Allen R. Benner, Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass. 1901.

Prof. Harold Bennett, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. 1921.

Miss Kathryn Seymour Bennett, 916 Edison Ave., Detroit, Mich. 1929.

Major Paul J. Benrimo, Box 383, Marion, Ala. 1921.

Miss M. Julia Bentley, Hughes High School, Cincinnati, O. (3517 Middleton Ave.). 1920.

Frank May Benton, Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass. (Johnson Hall). 1919.

Prof. George O. Berg, St. Olaf College, Northfield, Minn. 1909.

Pierre Arnold Bernard, Nyack, N. Y. 1913.

Prof. Lillian G. Berry, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. 1916.

Prof. William E. Berry, Penn College, Oskaloosa, Ia. 1924.

*Prof. Clarence Powers Bill, Adelbert College of Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O. (Life member). 1894.

Prof. Albert Billheimer, Gettysburg College, Gettysburg, Pa. 1912.

Prof. Arthur Vaughan Bishop, Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa. 1917.

Prof. Elizabeth L. Bishop, Western College for Women, Oxford, O. 1919.

Clifford H. Bissell, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (1839 Sonoma Ave.). 1928.

Mrs. Mary Leal Harkness Black, Panora, Ia. 1921.

*Miss Marion E. Blake, Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass. 1925.

*Prof. Warren Everett Blake, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1922.

*Dr. Carl W. Blegen, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, O. (Life member). 1920.

Prof. Leonard Bloomfield, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1914.

Dr. G. Alder Blumer, 196 Blackstone Blvd., Providence, R. I. 1921.

Prof. Arthur Edward Romilly Boak, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. (Life member). 1920.

George Bobrinskoy, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1927.

Dean Willis Henry Bocock, University of Georgia, Athens, Ga. 1890.

Sister Mary Paschal Boillot, Dominican College, San Rafael, Cal. 1921.

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Prof. George Melville Bolling, Ohio State University, Columbus, O. 1897.

Prof. Alexander Lee Bondurant, University of Mississippi, University, Miss. 1892.

Prof. Arthur Bonner, College of the Pacific, Stockton, Cal. (Pacific Manor). 1923.

*Prof. Campbell Bonner, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. (1025 Martin Pl.). Life member. 1899.

Prof. Robert Johnson Bonner, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1911.

George G. Booth, 615 Lafayette Blvd., Detroit, Mich. (Life member). 1924.

*Prof. Lester Kruger Born, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O. 1929.

Prof. Benjamin Parsons Bourland, Adelbert College of Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O. 1900.

Prof. Ella Bourne, Mills College, Cal. 1916.

Prof. Edwin Winfield Bowen, Randolph-Macon College, Ashland, Va. 1905.

Henry N. Bowman, Mohonk School, Lake Mohonk, N. Y. 1928.

Miss Blanche Beatrice Boyer, Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass. 1924.

*Prof. Haven Darling Brackett, Clark University, Worcester, Mass. 1905.

*Prof. Mary Victoria Braginton, Rockford College, Rockford, Ill. 1922.

Dr. Joseph Granger Brandt, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kan. 1916.

Prof. Alice F. Braunlich, Goucher College, Baltimore, Md. (2614 Guilford Ave.) Life member. 1916.

Charles Henry Breed, Blair Academy, Blairstown, N. J. 1915.

Elinor Dorothy Breeze, Colorado College, Colorado Springs, Col. 1929.

Rev. William Augustus Brewer, D.D., 728 Fairfield Rd., Burlingame, Cal. 1922.

*Prof. Ethel Hampson Brewster, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa. (Life member). 1914.

Frank Brewster, 60 Ames Building, Boston, Mass. 1920.

*Miss Elizabeth Crosby Bridge, Brearly School, New York City (The Panhellenic, 3 Mitchell Pl.). 1928.

*John Bridge, College of the City of New York, New York City. 1923.

Dr. Josiah Bridge, Simsbury, Conn. 1921.

Prof. Anna Brinton (Mrs. Howard H.), Earlham College, Richmond, Ind. 1912.

Louis F. D. Briois, University of California at Los Angeles, Cal. 1923.

Arthur G. Brodeur, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2711 Shasta Rd.). 1930.

Miss Lucy A. Brokaw, 5730 Drexel Avenue, Chicago, Ill. 1928.

*Prof. Blanche Brotherton, Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass. 1921.

*Thomas Robert Shannon Broughton, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1929.

Dr. Christopher G. Brouzas, West Virginia University, Morgantown, W. Va. (Life member). 1922.

Dr. Carroll N. Brown, College of the City of New York, New York City (Riverdale-on-Hudson). 1908.

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Dr. Lester Dorman Brown, Hotchkiss School, Lakeville, Conn. 1904.

Prof. Ruth W. Brown, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, Cal 1912.

Prof. William Norman Brown, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1921.

Dean Carleton Lewis Brownson, College of the City of New York. New York City. 1892.

Dr. W. R. Bryan, Columbia University, New York City (419 W. 117th St.). 1921.

Prof. Carl Darling Buck, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1890.

*Miss Mary H. Buckingham, 96 Chestnut St., Boston, 9, Mass. (Life member). 1897.

Dr. Theodore A. Buenger, 268 Ridge Ave., Winnetka, Ill. 1915.

Dr. Frank S. Bunnell, 251 Washington St., Norwich, Conn. 1921.

Dr. Bessie R. Burchett, 3411 Race St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1925.

Paul H. Burg, 444 Baker Ave., Webster Groves, Mo. 1923.

Miss Rosamond Burgi, Central State Teachers College, Mount Pleasant, Mich. 1928.

Prof. Edmund Burke, College of the City of New York, New York City. 1921.

Prof. Robert B. Burke, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. (College Hall). 1921.

*Miss Dorothy Burr, Bryn Mawr, Pa. (Box 63). 1925.

*Prof. William S. Burrage, Middlebury College, Middlebury, Vt. 1898.

Dr. Eli E. Burriss, Washington Square College, New York City (32 Waverly Place). 1923.

*Prof. Harry Edwin Burton, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H. 1899.

*Miss Nita L. Butler, 1155 Murray Hill Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa. 1922.

Prof. Orma Fitch Butler, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. (1109 Forest Ave.). Life member. 1907.

Miss Hilda Buttenwieser, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, O. (Life member). 1921.

Miss Alice Hill Byrne, Western College, Oxford, O. 1921.

Prof. Alva John Calderwood, Grove City College, Grove City, Pa. 1917.

Prof. George M. Calhoun, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (571 Euclid Ave.). 1911.

Prof. T. Callander, Queen's University, Kingston, Ont., Can. 1919.

*Prof. Donald Cameron, Boston University, Boston, Mass. (Life member). 1905.

Dr. James Marshall Campbell, Catholic University, Brookland, D. C. 1923.

Miss Mary E. Campbell, Hunter College Annex, 419 Fourth Ave., New York City. 1922.

Prof. John Young Campbell, Divinity School, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1925.

Miss Helen Campion, 800 Logan St., Denver, Col. (Life member). 1921.

Prof. Howard Vernon Canter, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill. (126 Lincoln Hall). 1921.

*Dr. Harry Caplan, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. (121 Goldwin Smith Hall). 1920.

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Seth Bunker Capp, Box 2054, Philadelphia, Pa. (Life member). 1914.
*Prof. Edward Capps, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1889.
*Prof. Frederick Mason Carey, University of California at Los Angeles (405 Hilgard Ave., West Los Angeles), Cal. 1922.
Prof. Marjorie Carpenter, 57 Shepard St., Cambridge, Mass. 1923.
James A. Carr, Central National Bank Building, St. Louis, Mo. 1923.
Prof. W. L. Carr, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. (10 Ridgeway) 1920.
Miss Ruth Carson, Teachers College, Macomb, Ill. 1926.
Prof. Jane Gray Carter, Hunter College, New York City. 1920.
Dr. Earnest Cary, 24 Hancock St., Boston, Mass. 1905.
William Van Allen Catron, Lexington, Mo. 1896.
Miss Emma Cauthorn, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo. (401 Price Ave.). 1916.
*Prof. Julia Harwood Caverno, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. (6 West St.). 1902.
Arnold B. Chace, 99 Power St., Providence, R. I. 1920.
Prof. Zechariah Chafee, Jr., Harvard Law School, Cambridge, Mass. (91 Irving St.). 1920.
Prof. Norman A. Chamberlain, College of Charleston, Charleston, S. C. 1925.
Miss Edith Chambers, Box 493, Haverford, Pa. 1924.
Prof. Angie Clara Chapin, Wellesley, Mass. 1888.
Martin P. Charlesworth, St. John's College, Cambridge, England. 1924.
Mrs. Elizabeth Shiner Chartier, 37 N. Boulevard, Gloversville, N. Y. 1923.
*Alton Hurd Chase, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (25 Holyoke St.). 1929.
*Prof. Cleveland King Chase, Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y. 1911.
Prof. George Davis Chase, University of Maine, Orono, Me. 1900.
*Dean George Henry Chase, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (36 Holden St.). 1899.
*Prof. George Millet Chase, Bates College, Lewiston, Me. 1924.
J. C. Chatterji, International School of Vedic Research, 1500 Times Bldg., New York City.
Dr. Winthrop Holt Chenery, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. 1916.
Arthur S. Chenoweth, Somers Point, N. J. 1921.
Harold Frederick Cherniss, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (990 Euclid Ave.). 1929.
Miss Helen M. Chesnutt, 9719 Lamont Ave., Cleveland, O. 1920.
Haakon V. Chevalier, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (1307 Bay View Pl.). 1926.
Dr. Edward C. Chickering, Jamaica High School, Jamaica, N. Y. 1920.
Prof. Gilbert Chinard, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1912.
Dr. Ethel L. Chubb, 4112 Baltimore Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 1921.
Prof. J. E. Church, Jr., University of Nevada, Reno, Nev. (358 Washington St.). 1922.
*Prof. Edith Frances Claflin, Rosemary Hall, Greenwich, Conn. (Life member). 1919.

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Prof. Charles Upson Clark, 358 Broadway, New York City. 1905.

Miss Evalyn A. Clark, 467 Pearl St. S., Canandaigua, N. Y. 1925.

Prof. Frank Lowry Clark, Miami University, Oxford, O. 1919.

Prof. Frederick William Clark, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Manit., Can. 1920.

Prof. Herman A. Clark, College of the City of Detroit, Detroit, Mich. (4841 Cass Ave.). 1920.

†Sereno Burton Clark, Drury College, Springfield, Mo. 1907.

N. Y. Clauson, Box 272, Racine, Wis. 1929.

*Prof. Harold Loomis Cleasby, 805 Comstock Ave., Syracuse, N. Y. 1905.

Miss Helen Rees Clifford, Sophie Newcomb Memorial College, New Orleans, La. 1929.

Miss Evelyn Holst Clift, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. (151 89th St., Brooklyn, N. Y.). 1929.

Dr. Frank L. Cloud, 1716 Nedro Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 1922.

*Prof. Benjamin C. Clough, Brown University, Providence, R. I. 1925.

Miss Katharine M. Cochran, 157 Oxford St., Hartford, Conn. 1914.

*Ernest A. Coffin, Deerfield Academy, Deerfield, Mass. 1914.

Dr. Harrison Cadwallader Coffin, Union College, Schenectady, N. Y. 1920.

Dr. George H. Cohen, 120 Capitol Ave., Hartford, Conn. 1914.

Prof. James Wilfred Cohoon, Mt. Allison University, Sackville, N. B., Can. (Life member). 1914.

Sister Mary Columkille Colbert, Incarnate Word College, San Antonio, Tex. 1924.

Prof. Guy Blandin Colburn, State College, Fresno, Cal. (Life member). 1911.

John Kingsbury Colby, Country Day School, Nonantum Hill, Newton, Mass. 1922.

Prof. Charles Nelson Cole, Oberlin College, Oberlin, O. 1902.

Prof. Helen Wieand Cole (Mrs. S. V.), Rollins College, Winter Park, Fla. 1923.

Prof. Paul Robinson Coleman-Norton, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. (23 Linden Lane). Life member. 1923.

Mrs. Klara H. Collitz, Baltimore, Md. (1027 N. Calvert St.). 1927.

Prof. Hermann Collitz, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. (1027 N. Calvert St.). 1887.

Miss Ruth Congdon, 720 County St., New Bedford, Mass. 1921.

Prof. Elisha Conover, Delaware University, Newark, Del. 1921.

Prof. Raymond Huntington Coon, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. (1200 E. First St.). 1923.

*Prof. Lane Cooper, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. (171 Goldwin Smith Hall). 1917.

Mrs. Beatrice Quijada Cornish, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (1406 Hawthorne Terrace). 1925.

*Mrs. Eunice Burr Couch, 404 Michigan Ave., Urbana, Ill. 1929.

*Herbert Newell Couch, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill. (404 Michigan Ave.). 1929.

*Prof. Cornelia Catlin Coulter, Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass. (Life member). 1912.

† Died, January 22, 1929.

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Prof. Frank Hewitt Cowles, The College of Wooster, Wooster, O. 1916.
Prof. Edward Godfrey Cox, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash. 1923.
Prof. Robert V. Cram, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn. (118 Folwell Hall). 1927.
F. Stuart Crawford, Jr., Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. 1929.
*Mrs. F. G. Cressey, Denison University, Granville, O. 1922.
Prof. Edmund D. Cressman, University of Denver, Denver, Colo. (2287 S. Columbine St.). 1914.
Miss Nancy J. Criswell, Wilson College, Chambersburg, Pa. 1929.
Prof. Albert Robinson Crittenden, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. (409 Thompson St.). 1920.
*Prof. William Day Crockett, Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pa. (226 S. Atherton St.). 1915.
Prof. William Henry Crogman, Gammon Theological Seminary, South Atlanta, Ga. 1898.
*Prof. Henry Lamar Crosby, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1909.
Dr. Kent Kane Cross, 4040 E. 2d Ave., Denver, Colo. 1930.
*Prof. Earl Le Verne Crum, Lehigh University, South Bethlehem, Pa. 1925.
Paul Culley, Washington Square College, New York University, New York City. 1929.
Miss Jean V. N. Da Costa, care of John C. Da Costa, Box 44, Gladwyne, Pa. (Life member). 1921.
Dean John N. Daland, Milton College, Milton, Wis. 1920.
Prof. Alfred Mitchell Dame, Middlebury College, Middlebury, Vt. (Life member). 1911.
Leslie Dana, 1 Brentmoor Park, St. Louis, Mo. 1923.
*Prof. Irville F. Davidson, St. Stephen's College, Annandale, N. Y. 1922.
Prof. Edmund Wayne Davis, Maryville College, Maryville, Tenn. 1921.
Milton C. Davis, Miller Place, Long Island, N. Y. (Life member). 1922.
*Philip Haldane Davis, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1925.
Prof. Henry S. Dawson, D'Youville College, Buffalo, N. Y. (308 West Ave.). 1922.
John Day, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (80 Howe St.). 1927.
*Miss Hazel Dean, Hunter College, New York City (150 W. 104th St.). 1925.
Prof. Lindley Richard Dean, Denison University, Granville, O. 1912.
Miss Mildred Dean, 2404 Wisconsin Ave., Washington, D. C. 1920.
*Prof. Sidney Norton Deane, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. 1912.
H. T. Deas, Caius College, Cambridge, England. 1925.
Prof. Frank M. Debatin, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. 1923.
Dr. Alice A. Deckman, Kensington High School, Philadelphia, Pa. (3950 Pine St.). 1921.
*Dr. Roy Joseph Deferrari, Catholic University, Washington, D. C. 1915.
Prof. Ernest Woodruff Delcamp, Transylvania College, Lexington, Ky. 1924.
Dr. C. E. Demaray, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb. (1240 H. St.). 1927.
Prof. Robert Ewing Dengler, Pennsylvania State College, 210 South Gill St., State College, Pa. (Life member). 1918.

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*Prof. William K. Denison, Tufts College, Mass. (42 Fletcher St., Winchester) 1899.

Dr. Holmes Van Mater Dennis, 3d, 22 Alexander St., Princeton, N. J. (Life member). 1921.

Dean Monroe Emanuel Deutsch, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (862 Arlington Ave.). 1904.

Pres. Henry B. Dewing, Athens College, Athens, Greece. 1909.

*Prof. Norman W. DeWitt, Victoria College, Toronto 5, Ontario, Canada. 1907.

Prof. Sherwood Owen Dickerman, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass. (Life member). 1902.

Rev. Frederick Walter Augustine Dickinson, Ph.D., College of Mt. St. Joseph, Mt. St. Joseph, O. 1926.

Prof. Thomas Wyatt Dickson, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y. 1915.

Miss Eva Dilks, Philadelphia High School for Girls, Philadelphia, Pa. 1921.

Dr. George E. Dimock, Jr., 907 N. Broad St., Elizabeth, N. J. 1913.

Miss Ellen MacKenzie Dodson, Box 408, Garden Grove, Cal. 1921.

Prof. James C. Dolley, McKendree College, Lebanon, Ill. 1920.

Sister Mary Dolorosa, Mount St. Mary's College, 3500 W. Slanson Ave., Los Angeles, Cal. 1927.

Rev. Francis P. Donnelly, S.J., Fordham College, New York City. 1928.

Prof. Benjamin Leonard D'Ooge, State Normal College, Ypsilanti, Mich. 1895.

Dr. Alfred Paul Dorjahn, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. 1922.

Prof. James Walker Downer, Baylor University, Waco, Tex. 1915.

Miss Juanita M. Downes, Cheltenham High School, Elkins Park Branch, Philadelphia, Pa. 1921.

Prof. William Prentiss Drew, Knox College, Galesburg, Ill. 1907.

Dr. Eleanor Shipley Duckett, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. (10 West St.). 1914.

G. Eckel Duckworth, L1 Prospect Apts., Princeton, N. J. 1925.

Mrs. Prentice Duell, Monhegan Island, Maine. 1925.

Prof. Thomas Shearer Duncan, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. 1922.

*Prof. James Eugene Dunlap, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. (1418 W. Huron St.). 1921.

Prof. Charles Love Durham, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1906.

Prof. Donald Blythe Durham, Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y. 1912.

*Prof. Emily Helen Dutton, Sweet Briar College, Sweet Briar, Va. 1898.

Prof. Herman Louis Ebeling, Goucher College, Baltimore, Md. (329 Hawthorn Rd.). 1892.

Prof. William Stahl Ebersole, Cornell College, Mt. Vernon, Ia. 1893.

Prof. Ernest Otto Eckelman, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash. (3042 E. Laurelhurst Drive). 1927.

Prof. Franklin Edgerton, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (408 Whitney Ave.). 1909.

Dr. George V. Edwards, College of the City of New York, New York City (1737 Popham Ave.). 1921.

Prof. John Bowen Edwards, Wells College, Aurora-on-Cayuga, N. Y. 1923.

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Prof. James Chidester Egbert, Columbia University, New York City. 1889.
Rudolph A. Eifert, California Concordia College, Oakland, Cal. 1925.
Prof. Wallace Stedman Elden, Ohio State University, Columbus, O. (1734 Summit St.). 1900.
Prof. Jay Glover Eldridge, University of Idaho, Moscow, Id. 1926.
Dr. Lulu G. Eldridge, 327 W. 12th St., New York City (Life member). 1920.
Prof. William Arthur Elliott, Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa. 1897.
Willis A. Ellis, Lombard, Ill. 1921.
Prof. Herbert Charles Elmer, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1887.
Prof. Jefferson Elmore, Stanford University, Cal. 1900.
John James Elson, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. (61 Goldwin Smith Hall). 1928.
M. B. Emeneau, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (Box 1910, Yale Station). 1926.
Prof. George Taylor Ettinger, Muhlenberg College, Allentown, Pa. 1896.
*John D. Evans, Washington Square College, New York City (11 Dominick St.). 1927.
Kenneth R. Evans, The Columbus Academy, Columbus, O. (1939 Franklin Park South). 1927.
Dr. F. X. J. Exler, St. Norbert's College, West Depere, Wis. 1924.
Dr. Arthur Fairbanks, Hanover, N. H. 1886.
Prof. Henry Rushton Fairclough, Stanford University, Cal. 1887.
Dean Fred L. Farley, College of the Pacific, Stockton, Cal. 1919.
William W. Farnam, 335 Prospect St., New Haven, Conn. (Life member). 1921.
Miss Elizabeth Faulkner, Faulkner School, 4746 Dorchester Ave., Chicago, Ill. (Life member). 1920.
Paul Louis Faye, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2810 Prince St.). 1930.
Prof. William Scott Ferguson, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. 1899.
Donald E. Fields, Lebanon Valley College, Annville, Pa. 1927.
Mrs. Mary R. Finch, 2110 University Ave., Madison, Wis.
Sharon Lea Finch, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. 1930.
Ruth Bates Fisch, 1889 Colonnade Road, Cleveland, O. 1929.
Frederick Perry Fish, 84 State St., Boston, Mass. (Life member). 1921.
*Prof. Edward Fitch, Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y. 1890.
Prof. Thomas FitzHugh, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va. (Life member). 1902.
*Miss Hildegarde J. Fitz-Maurice, 6369 McCallum St., Germantown, Philadelphia, Pa. 1923.
Prof. Caroline R. Fletcher, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. 1906.
*Prof. Roy Caston Flickinger, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia. (301 North Capitol St.). Life member. 1905.
Rev. Vincent Joseph Flynn, College of St. Thomas, St. Paul, Minn. 1929.
*Prof. Francis Howard Fobes, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. (Life member). 1908.
Maynard D. Follin, Box 118, Detroit, Mich. (Life member). 1922.

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Prof. Clarence Allen Forbes, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb. (Life member). 1926.

Prof. Charles Henry Forbes, Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass. (Life member). 1907.

Prof. Benjamin Oliver Foster, Stanford University, Cal. 1899.

Prof. Frank Hamilton Fowler, University of Arizona, Tucson, Ariz. (University Station). 1893.

*Prof. Harold North Fowler, 2000 R St., N.W., Washington, D. C. (Life member). 1885.

Miss Susan Fowler, 420 W. 118th St., New York City. 1904.

Alexander Fox, c/o Ulen and Co., Cali, Republic of Colombia. 1927.

Pres. William Sherwood Fox, University of Western Ontario, London, Ont., Can. 1911.

Prof. James Everett Frame, Union Theological Seminary, New York City (3041 Broadway). 1921.

*Prof. Tenney Frank, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. (Life member). 1906.

*Miss A. Mildred Franklin, Wilson College, Chambersburg, Pa. 1921.

Miss M. Alison Frantz, 64 Battle Road, Princeton, N. J. 1925.

*Prof. Alexander David Fraser, Alfred University, Alfred, N. Y. 1923.

Dr. Gladys Freed, Agnes Scott College, Decatur, Ga. 1927.

Dr. Walter Houghton Freeman, New Jersey State Teachers' College, Montclair, N. J., (170 E. 17th St., Brooklyn, N. Y.). 1908.

Norman Freudenberger, Southwest Missouri State Teachers College, Springfield, Mo. 1922.

*Mrs. Leonora Reilly Furr, 317 Dryden Road, Ithaca, N. Y. 1927.

Prof. Charles Kelsey Gaines, St. Lawrence University, Canton, N. Y. 1890.

Prof. John S. Galbraith, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass. (Life member). 1907.

Esson M. Gale, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1929.

Alexander B. Galt, 2219 California St., Washington, D. C. 1917.

*Prof. Caroline M. Galt, Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass. 1924.

Miss Helena M. Gamer, 4822 N. Winchester Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1927.

Prof. Frank R. Gay, Bethany College, Bethany, W. Va. 1926.

*Prof. Russel Mortimer Geer, Brown University, Providence, R. I. 1922.

Prof. Jacob Geerlings, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah. 1927.

Miss Laura F. Geiser, 8126 Apricot St., New Orleans, La. 1927.

Prof. John Lawrence Gerig, Columbia University, New York City. 1909.

Judge John Marshall Gest, 542 City Hall, Philadelphia, Pa. 1920.

Walter Giesecke, College of the Pacific, Stockton, Cal. 1929.

*Miss Natalie M. Gifford, Wheaton College, Norton, Mass. 1929.

Rev. Brother Giles, C.F.X., Ph.D., 1033 Newton St., N.E., Washington, D. C. 1927.

Dr. Walter H. Gillespie, Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, N. H. 1908.

Ginn and Company, 15 Ashburton Pl., Boston, Mass. (Life member). 1921.

Pres. Meta Glass, Sweet Briar College, Sweet Briar, Va. 1916.

Charles Bertie Gleason, High School, San José, Cal. (456 S. 2d St.). 1900.

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Clarence Willard Gleason, Roxbury Latin School, Boston, Mass. 1901.
*Prof. John Gray Glenn, Gettysburg College, Gettysburg, Pa. 1925.
Miss M. Kathryn Glick, Wilson College, Chambersburg, Pa. 1929.
Rev. Henry Glueckert, University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Ind. 1927.
John William Glynn, Jr., Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (10 Lionel Hall). 1923.
†Prof. A. E. Gobble, Albright College, Myerstown, Pa. 1921.
Francis R. B. Godolphin, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1926.
Prof. Philip Becker Goetz, University of Buffalo, Buffalo, N. Y. (63 Arlington Pl.). 1924.
Miss Jane Faulkner Goodloe, Goucher College, Baltimore, Md. (Homewood Apts.). 1927.
Sidney P. Goodrich, 167 Graduate College, Philadelphia, Pa. 1928.
Prof. Charles Jaques Goodwin, Lehigh University, Bethlehem, Pa. (18 E. Church St.). 1891.
Dr. Arthur E. Gordon, University of Vermont, Burlington, Vt. 1926.
Adolph Gorr, Davidson College, Davidson, N. C. 1925.
Prof. Florence Alden Gragg, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. (234 Crescent St.). 1906.
Miss E. Dorothy Graham, Tampico, Ill. 1928.
Prof. Charles Hall Grandgent, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (107 Walker St.). 1922.
Dr. Mary A. Grant, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kan. (1300 Louisiana St.). 1921.
*Dr. William D. Gray, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. 1907.
Prof. Laura C. Green, Pennsylvania College for Women, Pittsburgh, Pa. 1928.
*Theodore Francis Green, 1138 Hospital Trust Building, Providence, R. I. (Life member). 1920.
William McAllen Green, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2610 Grove St.). 1927.
*Chester Carr Greene, Jr., Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1929.
*Prof. William Chase Greene, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (60 Shepard St.). Life member. 1915.
Rev. H. A. Grelis, O.S.A., Villanova College, Villanova, Pa. 1923.
Miss Gertrude E. Gretler, 12 Trumbull St., New Haven, Conn. 1929.
Prof. William Richard Grey, Davidson College, Davidson, N. C. 1920.
*Elizabeth Grier, 141 Summer St., Malden, Mass. 1927.
Prof. Wren Jones Grinstead, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1924.
George Maximilian Antony Grube, Trinity College, Toronto, Can. 1930.
Prof. Alfred Gudeman, Franz Josefstrasse 12, Munich, Germany. 1889.
Prof. Charles Burton Gulick, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. 1894.
Prof. Richard Mott Gummere, William Penn Charter School, School Lane, Germantown, Pa. 1907.
William E. Gwatkin, Jr., University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo. 1923.
*Prof. Roy Kenneth Hack, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, O. 1910.

† Died, April 17, 1929.

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Prof. Woodford Broadhus Hackley, University of Richmond, Richmond, Va. 1930.

*Moses Hadas, Columbia University, New York City (Life member). 1926

Prof. George Depue Hadzsits, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1904.

Dean Patience Haggard, Alabama College, Montevallo, Ala. 1924.

*Prof. E. Adelaide Hahn, Hunter College, New York City (640 Riverside Drive). Life member. 1917.

Prof. Elizabeth Hazelton Haight, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1902.

Prof. Joseph Boyd Haley, Randolph-Macon College, Ashland, Va. 1921.

Dr. Clayton Morris Hall, Rutgers College, New Brunswick, N. J. 1922.

F. Russell Hamblin, University of Vermont, Burlington, Vt. 1922.

Prof. Hollister Adelbert Hamilton, Elmira College, Elmira, N. Y. 1895.

Jacob Hammer, Hunter College Annex, New York City (145 E. 32d St.). 1924.

John Calvin Hanna, State Supervisor of High Schools, Springfield, Ill. 1896.

Miss Hazel D. Hansen, 402 Tilton Ave., San Mateo, Cal. 1925.

Ralph W. Harbison, 1317 Farmers Bank Building, Pittsburgh, Pa. (Life member). 1921.

William Albert Harbison, 1317 Farmers Bank Building, Pittsburgh, Pa. (Life member). 1921.

Prof. Caleb Richmond Harding, Davidson College, Davidson, N. C. 1919.

Prof. James Penrose Harland, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C. (Box 90). Life member. 1921.

Miss Marian Harman, North Central College, Napierville, Ill. 1929.

Prof. Austin Morris Harmon, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (363 Willow St.). 1907.

Dr. George McLean Harper, Jr., Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1921.

Prof. Gustave Adolphus Harrer, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C. 1914.

Dr. Raymond Davis Harriman, Stanford University, Cal. (Box 913). 1916.

*Prof. Karl Pomeroy Harrington, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn. 1892.

Prof. W. A. Harris, University of Richmond, Richmond, Va. 1895.

Pres. Fairfax Harrison, Belvoir, Fauquier Co., Va. (Life member). 1914.

Prof. Arthur Henry Harrop, Albion College, Albion, Mich. 1929.

Prof. Walter Morris Hart, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2255 Piedmont Ave.). 1903.

Miss Curtis Hartshorne, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1929.

Prof. K. Louise Hartt, Hunter College, New York City. 1922.

Prof. Floyd Clayton Harwood, Taft School, Watertown, Conn. 1919.

Dr. Harold Ripley Hastings, 146 W. Lanvale St., Baltimore, Md. 1905.

Dr. Edward Southworth Hawes, 155 Willow St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1888.

Paul R. Hays, Columbia University, New York City. 1928.

Richard M. Haywood, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1929.

Edwin Humphrey Hazen, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (373 Crown St.). 1923.

Prof. Charles Baker Hedrick, Berkeley Divinity School, New Haven, Conn. 1913.

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*Prof. Edward Hoch Heffner, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1917.

Prof. William Arthur Heidel, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn. 1900.

Sister M. Helen, College of Saint Teresa, Winona, Minn. 1923.

†Dean Fred Burton Renney Hellems, University of Colorado, Boulder, Col. 1900.

John Lewis Heller, Haverford College, Haverford, Pa. 1928.

Prof. Otto Heller, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. 1896.

Prof. George Lincoln Hendrickson, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1892.

Dr. Margaret Y. Henry, Franklin K. Lane High School, Brooklyn, N. Y. (275 Clinton Ave.). 1926.

Winfred C. Herrick, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill. (Box 144, University Station). 1926.

*Ernest L. Hettich, New York University, New York City (1381 Sterling Place, Brooklyn, N. Y.). 1929.

*Prof. Joseph William Hewitt, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn. (Life member). 1905.

Virgil E. Hiatt, 1404 Beall Ave., Wooster, O. 1929.

Dr. Ernest L. Highbarger, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. 1923.

Dr. Bert Hodge Hill, 22 Regilla St., Athens, Greece (Life member). 1911.

*Miss Helen Fairbanks Hill, 74 Hanks St., Lowell, Mass. (Life member). 1921.

Prof. Victor D. Hill, Ohio University, Athens, O. 1920.

Prof. Robert H. Hiller, Wittenberg College, Springfield, O. (235 E. Madison Ave.). 1920.

George Walker Hinman, Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass. 1928.

Prof. Gertrude M. Hirst, Barnard College, Columbia University, New York City. 1902.

L. S. Hitchcock, Los Alamos Ranch School, Otowi, N. M. 1926.

‡Archibald L. Hodges, Wadleigh High School, 114th St., near 7th Ave., New York City. 1899.

Prof. Arthur Winfred Hodgman, The Ohio State University, Columbus, O. (195 W. 11th Ave.). 1896.

Prof. Charles Hoeing, University of Rochester, Rochester, N. Y. 1899.

Herbert B. Hoffleit, University of California at Los Angeles, Cal. 1926.

Dr. Rolf Hoffmann, 1141 Glen Arbor Ave., Los Angeles, Cal.

Richard J. Holbrook, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1930.

*Dr. Louise Adams Holland, 3715 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1920.

Prof. J. Emory Hollingsworth, Washburn College, Topeka, Kan. (1934 Lane St.). 1921.

Prof. Urban Tigner Holmes, Jr., University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C. (Box 348). 1923.

Dr. Benjamin Clark Holtzclaw, Jr., University of Richmond, Richmond, Va. 1921.

Dr. Mary Trowbridge Honey, Piracicaba, Estado de São Paulo, Brazil. 1922.

Prof. W. D. Hooper, University of Georgia, Athens, Ga. 1894.

† Died, April 19, 1929.

‡ Died, November 2, 1929.

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*Clark Hopkins, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1925.
*Mrs. Clark Hopkins, 548 Orange St., New Haven, Conn. 1924.
Prof. E. Washburn Hopkins, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (299 Lawrence St.). 1883.
Prof. Robert Chisolm Horn, Muhlenberg College, Allentown, Pa. 1909.
John N. Hough, Graduate College, Princeton, N. J. 1927.
Prof. Herbert Pierrepont Houghton, Carleton College, Northfield, Minn. 1907.
Prof. Joseph Henry Howard, University of South Dakota, Vermillion, S. D. (216 Pine St.). 1921.
Prof. George Howe, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C. 1914.
Dean George Edwin Howes, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass. (Life member). 1896.
Clement L. Hrdlicka, St. Procopius College, Lisle, Ill. 1924.
Prof. Harry Mortimer Hubbell, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (464 Yale Ave.). 1911.
Prof. William Meredith Hugill, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Can. (Life member). 1924.
†Prof. Milton Wylie Humphreys, University, Va. 1871.
Dr. George B. Hussey, Chilhowee St., Maryville, Tenn. 1887.
Prof. Mark Eastwood Hutchinson, Cornell College, Mt. Vernon, Ia. 1921.
*James Hutton, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1925.
Prin. Maurice Hutton, University College, Toronto, Can. 1908.
Prof. Walter Woodburn Hyde, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1911.
James Fisher Irwin, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1927.
‡Prof. Anette Ives, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, Cal. (1603 S. Marguerita St.). 1928.
Samuel Anthon Ives, Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y. 1929.
Dr. Leo V. Jacks, York, Neb. (Life member). 1923.
Prof. A. V. Williams Jackson, Columbia University, New York City. 1884.
*Prof. Carl Newell Jackson, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (992 Memorial Drive). Life member. 1905.
Prof. Frederick John Foakes Jackson, Union Theological Seminary, New York City. 1929.
Prof. Thomas Atkinson Jenkins, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1921.
Dr. Richard Jente, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. 1922.
George H. Jewett, 536 W. 111th St., New York City. 1927.
*Prof. Allan Chester Johnson, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1912.
Dr. Edwin Lee Johnson, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. (408 Fairfax Ave.). 1911.
Franklin Plotinus Johnson, Duke University, Durham, N. C. 1922.
Prof. Harriet Dale Johnson, Judson College, Marion, Ala. 1920.
*Jotham Johnson, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1929.
William H. Johnson, 710 Franklin Ave., Columbus, O. 1895.
Prof. Eva Johnston, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo. 1902.

† Died, November 30, 1928.
‡ Died, date not reported.

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Prof. Mary Johnston, Illinois Woman's College, Jacksonville, Ill. 1924.
Prof. Richard O. Jolliffe, Queen's University, Kingston, Ont., Can. 1920.
Miss Adalaide R. Jones, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa. (5817 Rural St.). 1923.
Prof. Horace Leonard Jones, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1908.
Prof. Leslie Webber Jones, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1926.
Prof. Richard Foster Jones, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. 1922.
Prof. Roger Miller Jones, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (990 Euclid Ave.). 1919.
Sister Miriam Judd, Webster College, Webster Groves, Mo. 1923.
Preston Henry Judd, Oak Lane Country Day School, Oak Lane, Philadelphia, Pa. 1928.
*Mrs. Isabel Dean Kadison, 215 W. 94th St., New York City. 1929.
Albert Kahn, Marquette Building, Detroit, Mich. (Life member). 1924.
Edmund H. Kase, Jr., 7309 Boyer St., Mt. Airy, Philadelphia, Pa. 1927.
David Brown Kaufman, Lafayette College, Easton, Pa. 1928.
Charles Zane Keim, 315 South Penn St., Wheeling, W. Va. 1929.
Prof. Arthur Leslie Keith, University of South Dakota, Vermillion, S. D. 1914.
Miss Ruth M. Keller, Camden High School, Camden, N. J. 1921.
*Prof. George Dwight Kellogg, Union College, Schenectady, N. Y. 1897.
Prof. Robert James Kellogg, Ottawa University, Ottawa, Kan. (415 S. Cedar St.). 1912.
Prof. John B. Kelso, College of Wooster, Wooster, O. 1923.
Ralph Burch Kenney, Graduate College, Princeton, N. J. 1930.
*Prof. Roland Grubb Kent, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. (Life member). 1903.
Sir Frederic G. Kenyon, British Museum, London, W. C., England. 1925.
*M. V. Kern, Faculty Club, Amherst, Mass. 1922.
J. A. Kerns, Whitman College, Walla Walla, Wash. 1921.
Prof. Walter A. Kerr, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah. 1926.
Pres. David Martin Key, Millsaps College, Jackson, Miss. 1917.
*Prof. Clinton Walker Keyes, Columbia University, New York City (54 Morningside Drive, Apt. 41). 1914.
*George Vincent Kidder, University of Vermont, Burlington, Vt. (206 Summit St.). 1926.
Prof. William E. Kirk, Willamette University, Salem, Or. (1450 State St.). 1920.
Prof. William Hamilton Kirk, Rutgers College, New Brunswick, N. J. 1898.
Prof. Watson Kirkconnell, Wesley College, Winnipeg, Can. 1928.
*Prof. John Copeland Kirtland, Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, N. H. 1895.
Prof. George Lyman Kittredge, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (8 Hilliard St.). 1884.
*Dr. Anita E. Klein, Columbia University, New York City. 1929.
Prof. James A. Kleist, St. Louis University, St. Louis, Mo. 1920.
Prof. Charles Knapp, Barnard College, Columbia University, New York City (1737 Sedgwick Ave.). 1892.
*Prof. Fred A. Knapp, Bates College, Lewiston, Me. 1920.

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Richard Knowles, St. Mark's School, Southboro, Mass. 1925.

Hugo A. Koehler, 320 N. Union Ave., St. Louis, Mo. 1923.

Elizabeth Knott, 1639 Touhy Ave., Rogers Park, Chicago, Ill. 1924.

William Charles Korfmacher, St. Louis University, St. Louis, Mo. (4548 Alice Ave.). 1929.

*Prof. Casper John Kraemer, Jr., Washington Square College, New York University, New York City. 1922.

Prof. Anna Krause, University of California at Los Angeles, Cal. (753 S. Kingsley Drive). 1921.

*Franklin Brunell Krauss, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. (318 Bennett Hall). 1922.

Prof. Paul E. Kretzmann, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Mo. (801 De Mun Ave.). 1923.

Joannes Ktenas, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (23 Ware St.). 1929.

Prof. Benjamin P. Kurtz, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (59 Santa Clara Ave., Oakland). 1923.

Pres. Melvin Grove Kyle, Xenia Theological Seminary, St. Louis, Mo. (6834 Washington Ave.). 1923.

Prof. Raymond Henry Lacey, Illinois College, Jacksonville, Ill. (1205 W. College Ave.). 1915.

*Dean Gordon Jennings Laing, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1907.

Prof. A. G. Laird, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. (1824 Rowley Ave.). Life member. 1890.

Prof. Max Ludwig Wolfram Laistner, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. (239 Goldwin Smith Hall). 1925.

Miss Agnes Kirsopp Lake, Ware Hall, 383 Harvard St., Cambridge, Mass. 1930.

Dr. George A. Land, 47 Washington Park, Newtonville, Mass. 1914.

Henri Langlard, M.A., University of California (2808 Lakeshore Blvd., Oakland, Cal.). 1925.

Prof. Charles Rockwell Lanman, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (9 Farrar St.). 1877.

Roy H. Lanphear, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H. 1929.

Lewis H. Lapham, 135 E. 42d St., New York City. 1880.

Joseph Lapidus, Fox Street Sta., P. O. Box 21, New York City. 1926.

Prof. Henry A. Lappin, D'Youville College, Buffalo, N. Y. (628 Delavan Ave.). 1922.

Robert B. Larkin, Y. M. C. A., Grand Rapids, Mich. 1930.

Jakob Aall Ottesen Larsen, The Ohio State University, Columbus, O. 1930.

John F. Latimer, Taft School, Watertown, Conn. 1928.

Richmond Lattimore, Christ Church, Oxford, England. 1927.

Mrs. Cora Rolfe Laubscher, Randolph-Macon Woman's College, Lynchburg, Va. 1925.

*Miss Helen Hull Law, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. 1920.

Dr. Lillian B. Lawler, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kan. (212 W. 12th St.). 1921.

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Dr. Arthur Gordner Leacock, Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, N. H. 1899.
*Prof. Emory Bair Lease, College of the City of New York, New York City (Hudson View Gardens, Pinehurst Ave. and 183d St.). 1895.
Anna C. Lee, 437 Scranton Ave., Lynbrook, N. Y. 1929.
Prof. David Russell Lee, Knoxville, Tenn. (505 Main Ave. W.). 1907.
Miss Sylvia Lee, The Ludlow, Copley Square, Boston, Mass. 1921.
Dr. Linwood Lehman, University of Virginia, University, Va. 1919.
Lawrence B. Leighton, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H. 1929.
*Dr. Walter Gifford Leland, 907 Fifteenth St., Washington, D. C. 1929.
Ernestine Franklin Leon (Mrs. H. J.), University of Texas, Austin, Tex. 1921.
*Prof. Harry Joshua Leon, University of Texas, Austin, Tex. 1922.
Sister Leona, College of Mt. St. Joseph, Mt. St. Joseph, O. 1928.
Dean Winfred George Leutner, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O. 1905.
E. Dewart Lewis, Marin Junior College, Kentfield, Cal. 1930.
Prof. Mark Harvey Liddell, Purdue University, West Lafayette, Ind. (224 Waldron St.). 1923.
Clarence A. Lightner, 1603 Dime Bank Building, Detroit, Mich. (Life member). 1924.
*Prof. Edward Y. Lindsay, University of Vermont, Burlington, Vt. (69 North Prospect St.). 1927.
Prof. Ivan Mortimer Linforth, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (85 Tamalpais Road). 1903.
Prof. Herbert C. Lipscomb, Randolph-Macon Woman's College, Lynchburg, Va. (Life member). 1909.
Prof. Charles Edgar Little, Peabody College, Nashville, Tenn. 1902.
Miss Helen Archer Loane, Hammonton, N. J. 1925.
Alfred G. Lockitt, 381 Franklin Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1927.
*Prof. Dean Putnam Lockwood, Haverford College, Haverford, Pa. 1909.
Prof. Gonzalez Lodge, Stamford Ave., New Canaan, Conn. 1888.
James Loeb, Landhaus "Hochried," Murnau a/ Staffelsee, Bavaria, Germany. 1913.
*Prof. John Oscar Lofberg, Oberlin College, Oberlin, O. 1919.
*Prof. Omera Floyd Long, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. (Life member). 1900.
Percy W. Long, G. & C. Merriam Co., Springfield, Mass. 1927.
Miss Elizabeth P. Longaker, Overbrook High School, Philadelphia, Pa. (1806 Spruce St.). 1925.
*Prof. Louis Eleazar Lord, Oberlin College, Oberlin, O. 1910.
Miss D. Aileen Lougee, Keuka College, Keuka Park, N. Y. 1923.
Elford Floyd Lounsbury, Westminster School, Simsbury, Conn. 1920.
*Miss Dorothy Low, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1929.
Dr. Clarence George Lowe, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb. 1924.
Prof. John Livingston Lowes, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. 1916.
Winnie D. Lowrance, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (Women's Faculty Club). 1927.
Prof. Hugh S. Lowther, Occidental College, Los Angeles, Cal. 1927.

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*Dr. Stephen Bleecker Luce, 267 Clarendon St., Boston, 17, Mass. (Life member). 1925.

Dean William Ludwig, Wagner College, Staten Island, N. Y. 1921.

Dr. Katharine Lummis, Wells College, Aurora, N. Y. 1920.

*Dr. F. B. Lund, 529 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. (Life member). 1921.

Dr. Elizabeth Perkins Lyders (Mrs.), 2429 Greene St., San Francisco, Cal. (Life member). 1904.

*C. Arthur Lynch, 260 Point St., Providence, R. I. 1927.

Miss Caroline Vinia Lynch, 217 Norfolk St., Dorchester Centre, Boston, Mass. 1914.

Miss Eugenia M. Lynch, 10 Kathmere Rd., Brookline, Upper Darby, Pa. 1924.

Prof. Caro Lynn, Wheaton College, Norton, Mass. 1925.

Prof. Janet M. Macdonald, Butler University, Indianapolis, Ind. (Apt. 10, The Butler, 5230 E. Washington St.). Life member. 1922.

Dr. Charles Macfarlane, The Bellevue, Philadelphia, Pa. 1914.

Mrs. Isabella T. Machan, 155 Summit Ave., Decatur, Ill. 1921.

Prof. J. Gresham Machen, Westminster Theological Seminary, Philadelphia, Pa. (206 S. 13th St.). Life member. 1923.

Dr. Alastair St. Clair Mackenzie, Room 1403, 11 E. 44th St., New York City (Life member). 1901.

Prof. W. R. Mackenzie, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. 1922.

*Malcolm MacLaren, Jr., Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. (211 Graduate School). 1927.

Pres. George Edwin MacLean, 1721 P St., N. W., Washington, D. C. 1891.

†Dr. Robert Cecil MacMahon, 78 W. 55th St., New York City. 1921.

Prof. Grace Harriet Macurdy, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1894.

Dr. Anna Pearl MacVay, Wadleigh High School, New York City. 1918.

Prof. David Magie, Jr., Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. (101 Library Pl.). Life member. 1901.

Prof. Joseph S. Magnuson, 730 W. 78th St., Los Angeles, Cal. 1920.

*Prof. Ralph Van Deman Magoffin, New York University, University Heights, New York City. 1908.

Dr. Herbert W. Magoun, 89 Hillcrest Rd., Belmont, Mass. 1891.

*A. G. C. Maitland, Washington Square College, New York University, New York City. 1929.

Prof. Kemp Malone, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. (Life member). 1925.

Miss Gertrude Malz, 1735 E. Hunting Park Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 1925.

Raymond Mandra, Hunter College, New York, N. Y. (3414 105th St., Corona L. I.). 1926.

Prof. John Matthews Manly, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1896.

Miss Euphemia M. Mann, Philadelphia High School for Girls, 17th and Spring Garden Sts., Philadelphia, Pa. (5114 Regent St.). 1925.

Prof. Clarence Augustus Manning, Columbia University, New York City. 1915.

Prof. Richard Clarke Manning, Kenyon College, Gambier, O. 1905.

† Died, April 9, 1929.

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Miss Eleanor Pearl Marlowe, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn. 1930.

Prof. Frank Burr Marsh, University of Texas, Austin, Tex. (808 W. 22d St.). 1923.

*Miss Berthe Marti, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1930.

Prof. Donnis Martin, Winthrop College, Rock Hill, S. C. 1927.

Prof. Ernest Whitney Martin, Stanford University, Cal. (525 Lincoln Ave., Palo Alto). 1923.

Prof. Gladys Martin, Mississippi State College for Women, Columbus, Miss. 1927.

Miss Ruth Martin, The State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa (927 Iowa Ave.). 1929.

Miss Ellen F. Mason, Rhode Island Ave., Newport, R. I. 1885.

Miles S. Masters, New York University, University Heights, New York City. 1924.

Dr. Maurice Whittemore Mather, 10 Dana Street, Cambridge, Mass. 1894.

*Miss Mima Maxey, 5413 Woodlawn Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1925.

Prof. William Maxwell, State Teachers College, Santa Barbara, Cal. 1926.

Mrs. Frederick A. May, 37 Park St., Canton, N. Y. 1925.

Paul Mayo, American Embassy, Brussels, Belgium (Dept. of State, Washington, D. C.). Life member. 1921.

*Dr. Barbara P. McCarthy, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. 1925.

Dr. Eugene Stock McCartney, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. (1004 Angell Hall). Life member. 1920.

F. A. McCollum, Shady Side Academy, Pittsburgh, Pa. 1927.

Prof. Chester Charlton McCown, Director, American School of Oriental Research, Jerusalem, Palestine (Box 333). 1920.

George McCracken, Accademia Americana, Pta. S. Pancrazio, Roma (29) Italia. 1927.

Prof. Nelson Glenn McCrea, Columbia University, New York City (Life member). 1890.

Prof. Walton Brooks McDaniel, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. (College Hall). 1901.

Walton Brooks McDaniel, 2d, New York University, Washington Sq., New York City. 1927.

Prof. J. H. McDaniels, Hobart College, Geneva, N. Y. 1871.

William F. McDonald, 106 Old Library, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn. 1928.

Prof. Mary B. McElwain, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. (Gillett House). 1908.

Calvin W. McEwan, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa. 1928.

Prof. Ida Kruse McFarlane, University of Denver, Denver, Col. (Life member). 1921.

Prof. Donald McFayden, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. 1922.

Rev. Thomas J. McGourty, Catholic University, Brookland, D. C. 1923.

Floyd McGranahan, Beloit College, Beloit, Wis. 1929.

Rev. Paul J. McGraw, Sacred Heart Seminary, 2701 Chicago Blvd., Detroit, Mich. 1925.

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Prof. Arthur Patch McKinlay, University of California at Los Angeles (1326 Lucile Ave.). 1913.

Miss Harriett E. McKinstry, Lake Erie College, Painesville, O. 1881.

Dr. Charlotte F. McLean, 277 S. Fourth St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1906.

Prof. James Sugars McLemore, University of Chattanooga, Chattanooga, Tenn. 1912.

Prof. James A. McMillen, Librarian, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, La. 1923.

Prof. Ashton Waugh McWhorter, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tenn. 1909.

Robert L. McWhorter, University of Georgia, Athens, Ga. 1906.

Prof. Thomas Means, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me. (267 Maine St.). 1921.

Prof. Bruno Meinecke, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. (Angell Hall). 1921.

Miss Anna Cole Mellick, Brearley School, 60 E. 61st St., New York City. 1923.

Dean Clarence Whittlesey Mendell, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1908.

Prof. Frank Ivan Merchant, Iowa State Teachers College, Cedar Falls, Ia. (1927 College St.). Life member. 1898.

Dr. Benjamin Dean Meritt, 629 Forest Ave., Ann Arbor, Mich. (Life member). 1922.

Prof. Elmer Truesdell Merrill, 2760 La Puesta del Sol Rd., Santa Barbara, Cal. 1883.

Miss Ruth Ellis Messenger, Hunter College, New York City (640 Riverside Drive). 1920.

Prof. William Stuart Messer, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H. 1915.

Prof. Charles A. Messner, State Teachers College, Buffalo, N. Y. 1927.

Eugene Meyer, Jr., 820 Fifth Ave., New York City (Life member). 1921.

Dr. Truman Michelson, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C. 1900.

Pres. Charles Christopher Mierow, Colorado College, Colorado Springs, Col. (24 College Pl.). 1909.

Prof. Herbert Edward Mierow, Colorado College, Colorado Springs, Col. 1914.

Prof. Alfred William Milden, University of Mississippi, University, Miss. 1903.

Dr. A. Bertha Miller, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. 1915.

Prof. Charles William Emil Miller, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1892.

Prof. Frank Justus Miller, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1920.

Prof. Walter Miller, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo. 1920.

Knower Mills, Loomis Institute, Windsor, Conn. 1919.

Samuel Loomis Mohler, Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pa. (520 State St.). Life member. 1921.

John Hill Monroe, Brown University, Providence, R. I. (24A University Hall). 1929.

*Prof. Walter Alexander Montgomery, University of Virginia, University, Va. 1929.

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Mrs. A. O. Moore (Cecilia Baldwin McElroy), Highland Park, Ill. (Life member). 1914.

*Dean Clifford Herschel Moore, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (112 Brattle St.). Life member. 1889.

Prof. Frank Gardner Moore, Columbia University, New York City. 1888.

Prof. P. G. Moorhead, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, La. 1925.

Paul Elmer More, LL.D., 245 Nassau St., Princeton, N. J. 1896.

Prof. Edward Parmelee Morris, Saybrook, Conn. 1886.

Donald S. Morrow, 241 Van Vorst St., Jersey City, N. J. 1928.

Dr. Virginia Moscrip, University of Rochester, Rochester, N. Y. 1927.

Dr. Nicholas Moseley, Albertus Magnus College, New Haven, Conn. 1921.

Sawyer McArthur Mosser, Graduate College, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1929.

Prof. Lewis Freeman Mott, College of the City of New York, New York City. 1898.

Prof. James Frederick Mountford, University College, Aberystwyth, Wales. 1924.

Prof. Clyde Murley, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. (Fisk Hall, 2). 1920.

Prof. Paul Murphy, College of Idaho, Caldwell, Idaho (1815 Filmore St.). 1923.

*Prof. Augustus Taber Murray, The Kenesaw, 16th & Irving Sts., Washington, D. C. 1887.

Prof. Wilfred Pirt Mustard, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1892.

Ralph Neidig Myers, 132 Lawn Ave., Sellersville, Pa. 1928.

Dr. Walter Neidig Myers, Camden Senior High School, Camden, N. J. 1921.

Miss Elizabeth Frances Nammack, Wadleigh High School, 215 W. 114th St., New York City. 1922.

Prof. Louis Hastings Naylor, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. (Life member). 1927.

Dr. Mary Craig Needler, University College, University of Toronto, Toronto, Can. 1926.

Prof. Narka Nelson, Western College for Women, Oxford, O. 1929.

Prof. Royal C. Nemiah, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H. 1919.

Dean K. P. R. Neville, University of Western Ontario, London, Can. 1902.

Prof. Charles B. Newcomer, 1082 27th St., Des Moines, Ia. (Life member). 1900.

Prof. Eva May Newman, The College of Wooster, Wooster, O. 1922.

Prof. Edward Wilber Nichols, Dalhousie University, Halifax, N. S., Can. 1915.

*Dean Paul Nixon, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me. 1907.

Prof. Gilbert Norwood, University of Toronto, Toronto, Can. 1928.

Prof. Herbert Chester Nutting, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (Box 172). 1900.

†Prof. Caroline H. Ober, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash. 1914.

Prof. Ainsworth O'Brien-Moore, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (Life member). 1923.

† Died, June 2, 1929.

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Dr. Margaret Brown O'Connor, Marymount College, Salina, Kan. (Life member). 1916.

Prof. Merle Middleton Odgers, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. (Office of Admissions). 1922.

Dr. Charles J. Ogden, 628 W. 114th St., New York City. 1909.

*Prof. Marbury Bladen Ogle, Ohio State University, Columbus, O. 1907.

*Raymond T. Ohl, Haverford College, Haverford, Pa. (148 Cricket Ave., Ardmore, Pa.). 1924.

*Prof. C. H. Oldfather, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb. 1919.

*Prof. William Abbott Oldfather, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill. (804 W. Green St.). 1908.

Prof. Samuel Grant Oliphant, Grove City College, Grove City, Pa. 1907.

Dr. John R. Oliver, Latrobe Apartments, Baltimore, Md. 1922.

Miss Mary L. Overocker, 74 S. Hamilton St., Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1924.

Prof. Eivion Owen, Bishop's College, Lennoxville, Que., Can. 1925.

Prof. William Henry Oxtoby, San Francisco Theological Seminary, San Anselmo, Cal. 1914.

Prof. Walter Hobart Palmer, Branford, Conn. 1914.

†Henry Spackman Pancoast, Spring Lane, Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, Pa. 1914.

Pres. Marian Edwards Park, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1921.

*Milman Parry, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (14 Shepard St.). 1927.

Arthur Wellesley Parsons, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1925.

Prof. George W. Paschal, Wake Forest College, Wake Forest, N. C. 1924.

Prof. Clarence Paschall, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2800 Derby St.). 1903.

Vernon Sennock L. Pate, New York State College of Agriculture, Ithaca, N. Y. 1929.

Prof. James Morton Paton, care of Morgan & Co., 14 Place Vendôme, Paris, France. 1887.

*Chancellor Emeritus John L. Patterson, University of Louisville, Louisville, Ky. (Life member). 1900.

Thomas Patterson, 1712 Oliver Building, Pittsburgh, Pa. (Life member). 1921.

*Prof. Adolph Frederick Pauli, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn. 1921.

Harry F. Payer, Mercantile Title Building, Cleveland, O. (Life member). 1921.

Dr. Mary Bradford Peaks, 165 Broadway, New York City (Life member). 1905.

Dr. Joseph Pearl, College of the City of New York, New York City. 1921.

*Miss Mary J. Pearl, Sweet Briar College, Sweet Briar, Va. 1927.

Pres. Arthur Stanley Pease, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. 1906.

Dr. William T. Peck, 48 Princeton Ave., Providence, R. I. 1920.

*John C. Pellett, 68 Flat St., Brattleboro, Vt. 1924.

*Prof. Daniel A. Penick, University of Texas, Austin, Tex. 1902.

Pres. Josiah Harmer Penniman, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. (Life member). 1921.

Prof. Charles William Peppler, Duke University, Durham, N. C. 1899.

† Died, March 25, 1928.

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Prof. Paul Helie Périgord, University of California at Los Angeles, Cal. 1925.
Prof. Ben Edwin Perry, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill. (126 Lincoln Hall). 1920.
Prof. Edward Delavan Perry, Columbia University, New York City. 1882.
*Prof. Lionel Denis Peterkin, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (41 Bowdoin St.). 1928.
Prof. Walter Petersen, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1913.
Prof. Torsten Petersson, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2215 Marin Ave.). 1905.
Philip R. Petsch, University of California at Los Angeles (11664 Montana Ave., Brentwood Heights, Cal.). 1930.
Prof. Clyde Pharr, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. 1912.
Henry Phillips, Jr., 324 Ostrom Ave., Syracuse, N. Y. 1927.
Mrs. Maria Teresa Piccirillo, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2626B Hillegas Ave.). 1926.
Prof. J. B. Pike, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn. 1927.
Prof. Perley Oakland Place, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y. 1930.
Maurice Platnauer, Brasenose College, Oxford, England. 1924.
George Arthur Plimpton, LL.D., 61 Park Ave., New York, N. Y. 1916.
Mrs. Mary B. Pollard, 24 Kingsbury Pl., St. Louis, Mo. 1923.
James Eugene Pooley, University of Vermont, Burlington, Vt. (323 College St.). 1928.
Prof. William Popper, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (529 The Alameda). 1925.
Prof. Chandler Rathfon Post, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. 1920.
*Prof. Edwin Post, De Pauw University, Greencastle, Ind. 1886.
Prof. Levi Arnold Post, Haverford College, Haverford, Pa. 1921.
Prof. Hubert McNeill Poteat, Wake Forest College, Wake Forest, N. C. 1911.
Prof. Franklin Hazen Potter, The State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia. 1898.
Henry Preble, 154 E. 91st St., New York City. 1882.
Prof. William Kelly Prentice, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. (Life member). 1895.
*Prof. Henry Washington Prescott, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1899.
Prof. Clifton Price, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1899.
*John Paul Prichard, Washington and Jefferson College, Washington, Pa. 1925.
*Prof. Lester Marsh Prindle, University of Vermont, Burlington, Vt. (Life member). 1921.
Prof. Eduard Prokosch, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1923.
*James William Pugsley, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb. 1925.
*Miss Lidorra H. Putney, Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass. 1929.
G. Payn Quackenbos, College of the City of New York, New York City. 1929.
Prof. O. W. Qualley, Luther College, Decorah, Ia. 1926.
Prof. Lynn Arthur Quivey, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah. 1930.
Mrs. Eliza G. Radeke, 92 Prospect St., Providence, R. I. (Life member). 1921.
*Prof. Robert Somerville Radford, Kenyon College, Gambier, O. 1900.
Prof. Max Radin, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2957 Buena Vista Way). 1921.

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*Prof. Edward Kennard Rand, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (107 Lakeview Ave.). Life member. 1902.

Prof. Charles Brewster Randolph, Clark University, Worcester, Mass. 1905.

Dr. Edwin Moore Rankin, P. O. Box 244, Pasadena, Cal. 1905.

William Merritt Read, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash. (5514½ 11th Ave. N. E.). 1926.

*Prof. Homer Franklin Rebert, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. 1924.

Miss Lydia Rebert, Collinwood High School, 1838 E. 101st St., Cleveland, O. 1924.

†Prof. John W. Redd, Centre College, Danville, Ky. 1885.

John T. Reid, Stanford University, Cal. (Box 986). 1930.

Pres. Aurelia Henry Reinhardt, Mills College, Cal. 1924.

‡Rev. Graham Reynolds, Catholic University, Washington, D. C. (1320 Monroe St., N.E.). 1923.

§Prof. Horatio M. Reynolds, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (85 Trumbull St.). 1884.

*Prof. Alexander Hamilton Rice, Boston University, Boston, Mass. 1909.

Miss Edith F. Rice, Kensington High School for Girls, Philadelphia, Pa. 1921.

Prof. G. C. Richards, The College, Durham, Eng. 1927.

*John Francis Chatterton Richards, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H. 1927.

Miss Bessie Ellen Richardson, The State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa. 1929.

Prof. Leon Josiah Richardson, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (111 Southampton Ave.). 1895.

*Prof. Mary Lilias Richardson, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. (36 Bedford Terrace). 1917.

Prof. Ernest H. Riedel, Tulane University of Louisiana, New Orleans, La. 1908.

*Prof. Ernst Riess, Hunter College, New York City. 1895.

Miss Laura C. Riffe, 513 Garrard St., Covington, Ky. 1925.

*Miss Irene C. Ringwood, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. (301 Mill St.). 1922.

Alfred L. Ripley, Andover, Mass. (Life member). 1921.

Dr. Dorothy M. Robathan, Wells College, Aurora, N. Y. 1921.

Prof. Edmund Yard Robbins, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1895.

Dr. Frank Egleston Robbins, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. (Life member). 1912.

Harley F. Roberts, Taft School, Watertown, Conn. 1921.

Prof. Archibald Thomas Robertson, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Ky. 1909.

Dr. H. G. Robertson, Victoria College, University of Toronto, Toronto, Can. 1924.

Miss Ruth E. Robertson, De Pauw University, Greencastle, Ind. (405 E. Washington St.). 1923.

† Died, April 4, 1928.
‡ Died, April 22, 1929.
§ Died, October 3, 1929.

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*Prof. Charles Alexander Robinson, Jr., Providence, R. I. (63 Angell St.). 1922.

*Prof. David Moore Robinson, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. (Life member). 1905.

*Prof. Florence Horton Robinson, Sweet Briar College, Sweet Briar, Va. 1925.

*Prof. Dwight Nelson Robinson, Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, O. 1911.

Dr. James J. Robinson, Hotchkiss School, Lakeville, Conn. 1902.

*Prof. Rodney Potter Robinson, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, O. 1920.

Prof. Joseph C. Rockwell, Municipal University of Akron, Akron, O. 1896.

Miss Dorothy M. Roehm, 14056 Freeland Ave., Detroit, Mich. 1921.

Miss Myra Rogers, 1139 Third St., New Orleans, La. 1922.

*Dr. Robert Samuel Rogers, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. (219 Nassau St.). Life member. 1921.

Prof. John Carew Rolfe, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1890.

Dean Florence K. Root, College of Wooster, Wooster, O. 1919.

Miss Mabel V. Root, Catskill, N. Y. 1920.

*Dr. Ruskin R. Rosborough, Duke University, Durham, N. C. (Box 503). 1920.

S. L. Millard Rosenberg, University of California at Los Angeles, Cal. 1923.

Dean Clarence Frisbie Ross, Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa. 1902.

*Prof. Michael Ivanovich Rostovtzeff, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (Box 1916, Yale Station). 1923.

Prof. A. M. Rovelstad, St. Olaf College, Northfield, Minn. 1921.

Miss Adele M. Roth, College of the Pacific, Stockton, Cal. 1922.

Franklin Dana Rowe, 367 Elm St., New Haven, Conn. 1928.

*Prof. William T. Rowland, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. 1919.

Prof. August Rupp, College of the City of New York, New York City. 1902.

William Sener Rusk, Wells College, Aurora-on-Cayuga, N. Y. 1921.

Dr. Albert A. Ruskin, 69 Grammercy Court, Atlantic City, N. J. 1925.

Miss Marie L. Russell, 145 E. 54th St., New York City. 1924.

Prof. P. W. Russell, Johnson C. Smith University, Charlotte, N. C. 1920.

Miss Winifred L. Ruter, Hunter College, New York City. 1929.

Dr. Thomas De Coursey Ruth, care of F. S. Ruth & Co., 120 Broadway, New York City. 1914.

†Prof. H. Osborne Ryder, Hamline University, St. Paul, Minn. 1922.

Prof. Frances E. Sabin, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York City. 1920.

Prof. Julius Sachs, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York City (The Belmont, 86th St. and Broadway). 1875.

*Prof. Evan Taylor Sage, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa. (247 Lothrop St.). Life member. 1912.

*Prof. Leo Erval Alexandre Saidla, Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1929.

† Died, September 6, 1929.

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Dr. John Sampson, Librarian, University of Liverpool, Liverpool, England. 1925.

Prof. Henry Arthur Sanders, Accademia Americana, Porta San Pancrazio, Rome, 29 Italy (Life member). 1899.

Shipp Gillespie Sanders, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C. (Life member). 1928.

Prof. Eva Matthews Sanford, College for Women of Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O. 1924.

Fred Santee, Lehigh University, Bethlehem, Pa. (215 W. Broad St.). 1928.

Henry B. Sargent, 247 Church St., New Haven, Conn. (Life member). 1921.

*Dr. Rachel Louisa Sargent, College for Women of Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O. 1923.

Lt. Col. Winthrop Sargent, Jr., Haverford, Pa. 1909.

Prof. Catharine Saunders, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. (Life member). 1900.

Prof. Kenneth J. Saunders, Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley, Cal. 1924.

*Dr. John Joseph Savage, Brown University, Providence, R. I. 1925.

Prof. John Alexander Sawhill, State Teachers College, Harrisonburg, Va. 1921.

*Lauriston Livingston Scaife, Central Ave., Milton, Mass. 1929.

Prof. John Nevin Schaeffer, Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pa. 1921.

Prof. Felix Emanuel Schelling, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. (Hamilton Court, 39th and Chestnut Sts.). 1921.

Prof. Hugo Karl Schilling, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (822 Mendocino Ave.). 1920.

*Alfred Cary Schlesinger, 33 Southworth St., Williamstown, Mass. 1922.

Prof. Nathaniel Schmidt, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1914.

Ellis A. Schnabel, North East High School, Philadelphia, Pa. 1921.

*Prof. D. T. Schoonover, Marietta College, Marietta, O. 1912.

*Miss Dorothy M. Schullian, 15415 Lake Ave., Lakewood, O. 1928.

Henry Butler Schwartz, Dept. of Public Instruction, T. H., Honolulu, T. H. 1924.

Dr. Gilbert Campbell Scoggin, The Gennadeion, American School, Athens, Greece. 1924.

Dr. Charles Payson Gurley Scott, 49 Arthur St., Yonkers, N. Y. 1880.

Prof. Ernest Findlay Scott, Union Theological Seminary, New York City. 1928.

Prof. Harry Fletcher Scott, Ohio University, Athens, O. 1921.

*Dr. Inez Gertrude Scott, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1926.

Prof. John Adams Scott, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. (1958 Sheridan Rd.). 1898.

Randolph Jefferson Scott, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1924.

Prof. Kenneth Scott, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio (Life member). 1923.

Oreon E. Scott, 800 Chestnut St., St. Louis, Mo. 1923.

Prof. Henry S. Scribner, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa. (1045 Murray Hill Ave.). Life member. 1889.

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Charles F. T. Seaverns, Hartford Public High School, Hartford, Conn. (1265 Asylum Ave.). Life member. 1927.

Miss Laura Seguine, West Philadelphia High School for Girls, Philadelphia, Pa. 1921.

Prof. Edward H. Sehrt, George Washington University, Washington, D. C. (1844 Columbia Rd., N. W.). 1927.

Dr. Lewis L. Sell, Columbia University, New York City (15 Park Row). 1916.

Prof. William Tunstall Semple, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, O. (315 Pike St.). Life member. 1910.

Prof. Robert F. Seybolt, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill. (Life member). 1928.

Miss Mabel Shaffer, 120 Rebecca St., Kittanning, Pa. 1928.

Dr. Theodore Leslie Shear, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. (Battle Road). Life member. 1906.

Prof. Emeritus Caroline Sheldon, Litt.D., 92 Market St., Potsdam, N. Y. 1922.

Prof. Henry Vogel Shelley, Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Va. 1919.

C. Sidney Shepard, New Haven, N. Y. (Life member). 1921.

Prof. William Pierce Shepard, Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y. 1922.

Miss Helen McNeely Sheriff, Shreve High School, Martin's Ferry, O. (309 Lincoln Ave., Cadiz, O.). 1925.

*Prof. Charles Lawton Sherman, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. 1921.

*Prof. L. R. Shero, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa. (Life member). 1921.

Dr. Alexander Shewan, Seagate, St. Andrews, Fife, Scotland. 1924.

George W. H. Shield, 1537 W. 46th St., Los Angeles, Cal. 1925.

*Prof. Emily L. Shields, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. (36 Bedford Terrace). 1909.

*Prof. Frederick William Shipley, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. 1900.

Prof. Paul Shorey, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1887.

Prof. Grant Showerman, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. (410 N. Butler St.). 1900.

Prof. Thomas K. Sidey, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash. 1914.

Dr. Ernest Gottlieb Sihler, Professor Emeritus, New York University, University Heights, New York City (252 S. 6th Ave., Mt. Vernon, N. Y.). 1876.

Edmund Taite Silk, 75 Autumn St., New Haven, Conn. 1929.

Pres. Kenneth Charles Morton Sills, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me. 1906.

Miss Adelaide Douglas Simpson, Hunter College, New York City. 1919.

Miss Mary Fern Slusher, Moline High School, Moline, Ill. 1930.

Prof. Charles Newton Smiley, Carleton College, Northfield, Minn. 1907.

Miss Elizabeth F. Smiley, 5610 Dorchester Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1922.

Prof. Charles Forster Smith, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. (16th and Main Sts., Racine, Wis.). 1883.

*Charles Huntington Smith, Deerfield Academy, Deerfield, Mass. 1919.

Prof. Charles S. Smith, George Washington University, Washington, D. C. 1895.

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Prof. E. Marion Smith, Hollins College, Hollins, Va. 1924.
Dr. Gertrude E. Smith, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1922.
*Prof. Harry de Forest Smith, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. 1899.
*Prof. Henry Roy William Smith, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (436 Wheeler Hall). 1925.
†Prof. Kendall Kerfoot Smith, Brown University, Providence, R. I. 1910.
*Prof. Lillian S. Smith, Agnes Scott College, Decatur, Ga. 1919.
Dr. Maria Wilkins Smith, 1527 Spruce St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1923.
Dr. Nellie Angel Smith, West Tennessee State Teachers College, Memphis, Tenn. 1926.
Prof. Reuben Valentine Smith, 409 Parkview Ave., Columbus, O. 1923.
*Miss Shirley Smith, New Jersey College for Women, New Brunswick, N. J. 1929.
Prof. Stanley Barney Smith, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me. 1921.
Dr. William Fletcher Smith, University of Ohio, Columbus, O. (Hayes Hall). 1922.
*Prof. Herbert Weir Smyth, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (15 Elmwood Ave.). Life member. 1886.
H. D. B. Soulé, 1020 Broadway, San Francisco, Cal. 1927.
*Prof. John William Spaeth, Jr., Brown University, Providence, R. I. (Life member). 1923.
Mrs. Augusta de Laguna Spaulding, 720 20th St., N. W., Washington, D. C. 1921.
Prof. Floyd A. Spencer, Salem, Va. 1922.
Pres. William Gear Spencer, Hillsdale College, Hillsdale, Mich. 1921.
Miss Mignonette Spilman, Women's Faculty Club, Berkeley, Cal. 1927.
Miss Evelyn Spring, Baldwin School, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1917.
Dr. Sidney G. Stacey, Erasmus Hall High School, Brooklyn, N. Y. (177 Woodruff Ave.). 1901.
Dr. Martha Stansfield, Agnes Scott College, Decatur, Ga. 1926.
Miss Lillian de Blois Starr, Elmira College, Elmira, N. Y. 1929.
Dr. Ida L. Stauf, Stanford University, Cal. (Box 292, Palo Alto). 1924.
*John Barker Stearns, Hanover, N. H. (4 College St.). 1922.
Thomas B. Steel, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (Box 222). 1925.
Prof. R. B. Steele, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. (101 24th Ave. S.). Life member. 1893.
Alfred Daniel Stefferud, Kemper Military School, Boonville, Mo. 1929.
Prof. Rufus T. Stephenson, De Pauw University, Greencastle, Ind. 1910.
Prof. M. W. Sterling, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kan. (1129 Louisiana St.). 1923.
Henry G. Stevens, Detroit, Mich. (316 E. Jefferson St.). Life member. 1925.
Miss Lavina Stewart, Connecticut College Library, New London, Conn. 1929.
Prof. Manson A. Stewart, Yankton College, Yankton, S. D. 1909.
Prof. James Stinchcomb, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa. 1927.
Rev. William M. Stinson, Boston College, Boston, Mass. (Chestnut Hill, 67). 1923.

† Died, November 26, 1929.

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Prof. Alvin H. M. Stonecipher, Indiana Central College, Indianapolis, Ind. 1914.

Dean Selatie Edgar Stout, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. 1915.

Dr. Robert P. Strickler, Southwestern University, Memphis, Tenn. 1911.

Eugene H. Strittmatter, Columbia University, New York City (325 34th St., Woodcliff-on-Hudson, N. Y.). 1922.

Dr. Mildred C. Struble, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, Cal. 1923.

Prof. Duane Reed Stuart, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1901.

Meriwether Stuart, Hunter College, New York City (145 E. 32d St.). 1929.

Prof. Cora E. Stubbs, Elmira College, Elmira, N. Y. 1929.

Harold J. Stukey, Deep Springs, Cal. 1926.

Prof. Anne B. B. Sturgis, 131 Forest St., Oberlin, O. 1920.

S. Warren Sturgis, Groton, Mass. 1921.

Prof. Albert Morey Sturtevant, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kan. (924 Louisiana St.). 1922.

Prof. Edgar Howard Sturtevant, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (Box 1849, Yale Station). Life member. 1901.

Mrs. Eleanor Reed Sutherland, 223 Dartmouth St., Rochester, N. Y. 1930.

*Prof. Rollin Harvelle Tanner, New York University, University Heights, New York City (Life member). 1911.

†Rt. Rev. John J. Tannrath, 4371 Lindell Blvd., St. Louis, Mo. (Life member). 1923.

Prof. Helen H. Tanzer, Hunter College, New York City (208 E. 15th St.). Life member. 1910.

*Miss Elizabeth Tappan, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1923.

Prof. John Strong Perry Tatlock, 1994 San Antonio St., Berkeley, Cal. 1915.

Prof. Eugene Tavenner, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. (McMillan Hall). 1912.

Gilbert H. Taylor, Westminster College, New Wilmington, Pa. 1922.

Dr. John Wilson Taylor, 322 Parkwood Ave., Kenmore, N. Y. 1919.

*Prof. Lily Ross Taylor, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. (Life member). 1912.

Miss Margaret E. Taylor, Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass. 1926.

R. W. D. Taylor, Woodberry Forest School, Woodberry Forest, Va. 1927.

Ernest Hall Templin, University of California at Los Angeles, Cal. 1928.

Dean Ruby R. Terrill, University of Texas, Austin, Texas. 1928.

Prof. Susan D. Tew, Newcomb College, Tulane University, New Orleans, La. 1919.

Miss Ruth Thomas, East Tennessee State Teachers College, Johnson City, Tenn. 1927.

Prof. Clara Louise Thompson, Shorter College, Rome, Ga. 1920.

Homer Armstrong Thompson, Rosedale, B. C., Can. 1929.

Dean David Thomson, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash. 1902.

Hans Christian Thory, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. (420 Benjamin St.). 1929.

† Died, June 16, 1929.

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Prof. George Reeves Throop, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. 1907.

Dr. Charles H. Thurber, 15 Ashburton Pl., Boston, Mass. 1901.

*Dr. John Bradford Titchener, Harvard College, Cambridge, Mass. (1648 Massachusetts Ave.). Life member. 1923.

*Prof. Otis Johnson Todd, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, B. C., Can. 1923.

Miss Lena B. Tomson, Milwaukee-Downer College, Milwaukee, Wis. (Life member). 1921.

Prof. Catherine Torrance, Agnes Scott College, Decatur, Ga. 1920.

*Prescott Winson Townsend, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. 1925.

Dr. Hermann Lloyd Tracy, Queen's University, Kingston, Ont., Can. 1924.

Prof. Harold H. Tryon, Union Theological Seminary, New York City. 1928.

Robert Whitney Tucker, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. (210 Dryden Road). 1929.

Miss Elizabeth McJimsey Tyng, 1260 Emerson St., Palo Alto, Cal. 1916.

Prof. Berthold Louis Ullman, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. (Life member). 1910.

Prof. Harry Brown Van Deventer, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1907.

Prof. Justin Loomis Van Gundy, Monmouth College, Monmouth, Ill. 1920.

*Prof. Henry Bartlett Van Hoesen, Brown University, Providence, R. I. 1909.

*Prof. La Rue Van Hook, Barnard College, Columbia University, New York City. 1905.

Miss Linda Van Norden, 329 Lincoln Ave., Palo Alto, Cal. 1928.

Miss Susan E. Van Wert, Hunter College High School, New York City (320 E. 96th St.). 1914.

Prof. Agnes Carr Vaughan, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. (Northrup House). 1917.

Prof. N. P. Vlachos, Temple University, Philadelphia, Pa. 1903.

John H. Wagenblass, Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y. 1929.

Prof. Anthony Pelzer Wagener, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Va. 1911.

Prof. William Henry Wait, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1893.

Dr. John William Henry Walden, 7 Irving Terrace, Cambridge, Mass. 1889.

G. Byron Waldrop, Shady Side Academy, Pittsburgh, Pa. 1921.

Prof. Arthur Tappan Walker, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kan. 1895.

*Sherman Le Roy Wallace, Oberlin College, Oberlin, O. 1925.

Prof. John Stephen Walsh, University of New Hampshire, Durham, N. H. 1922.

*Prof. Alice Walton, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. 1894.

James R. Ware, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash. (Life member). 1921.

*Miss Florence Waterman, Winsor School, Boston, Mass. 1921.

Prof. John Calvin Watson, 7209½ Merrill Ave., Windsor Park, Chicago, Ill. 1902.

*Prof. Robert Henning Webb, University of Virginia, University, Va. 1909.

Prof. Hermann J. Weber, Berkeley, Cal. (1811 La Loma Ave.). 1913.

Prof. Shirley Howard Weber, 106 Broadmead, Princeton, N. J. 1914.

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Harry E. Wedeck, 879 E. 37th St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1928.

Charles Bradford Welles, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (1422 Yale Station). 1928.

*Dr. Allen Brown West, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, O. 1926.

Dean Andrew Fleming West, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1886.

Louis C. West, 1250 Union Trust Building, Cleveland, O. (Life member). 1921.

H. Theodoric Westbrook, Columbia University, New York City (Hamilton Hall). 1925.

Prof. John R. Westbrook, Westminster College, Fulton, Mo. 1923.

Prof. John Howell Westcott, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1891.

Prof. William Linn Westermann, Columbia University, New York City (Fayerweather Hall). 1924.

Prof. Arthur Harold Weston, Lawrence College, Appleton, Wis. (738 E. John St.). 1915.

*Prof. Monroe Nichols Wetmore, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass. (Life member). 1906.

H. R. Wezeman, 1111 W. Huron St., Ann Arbor, Mich. 1929.

Prof. Joshua Whatmough, Harvard University, D 11, Morris Hall, Soldiers' Field Station, Boston, Mass. 1926.

Prof. Arthur Leslie Wheeler, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. (138 Jefferson Rd.). 1899.

Benjamin Webb Wheeler, 1032 Church St., Ann Arbor, Mich. 1920.

Prof. George Meason Whicher, Amherst, Mass. 1891.

Dr. Andrew C. White, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. (424 Dryden Road). 1886.

Prof. Dorrance S. White, University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa. 1929.

Miss Edna White, Wm. L. Dickinson High School, Jersey City, N. J. 1929.

Howell North White, Hotchkiss School, Lakeville, Conn. 1921.

Prof. John B. White, Route 1, Box 45A, Orlando, Fla. 1920.

Prof. Raymond H. White, Middlebury College, Middlebury, Vt. 1911.

Dr. Philip Barrows Whitehead, Beloit College, Beloit, Wis. 1920.

Miss Mabel K. Whiteside, Randolph-Macon Woman's College, Lynchburg, Va. (Life member). 1906.

Prof. Edward Arthur Wicher, San Francisco Theological Seminary, San Anselmo, Cal. (18 Kensington Road). 1906.

Miss Edna Wiegand, Lawrence University, Appleton, Wis. 1929.

Dr. Carol VanBuren Wight, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1923.

Dr. Alfred Reynolds Wightman, Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, N. H. (86 Front St.). 1920.

*Prof. Henry Daniel Wild, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass. (Life member). 1898.

*Prof. Eliza Gregory Wilkins, 519 Elm St., Frederick, Md. 1917.

Mrs. Caroline Ransom Williams, Chesbrough Dwellings, Toledo, O. 1922.

Prof. Margaret Ann Williams, Franklin College, Franklin, Ind. 1928.

Prof. Mary G. Williams, Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass. 1899.

E. R. B. Willis, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1914.

Dr. Gwendolen B. Willis, Bryn Mawr School, Baltimore, Md. 1906.

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Dr. Ortha L. Wilner, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. (Faculty Ex. 241). 1927.

*Dr. Lillian M. Wilson, 5464 Woodlawn Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1922.

Prof. Margaret B. Wilson, Hunter College, New York City (Life member). 1921.

Miss Minnie Louise Wilson, 3 Piper Building, Cincinnati, O. 1925.

Prof. Pearl Cleveland Wilson, Hunter College, New York City (65 Morningside Ave.). 1919.

*Prof. William Jerome Wilson, State Normal School, Cheney, Wash. 1918.

Prof. Herbert Wing, Jr., Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa. (429 W. South St.). 1915.

Prof. John Garrett Winter, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. (Life member). 1906.

Miss Ruth Witherstine, University of Buffalo, Buffalo, N. Y. 1922.

H. Rey Wolf, South Philadelphia High School for Boys, Philadelphia, Pa. (16 School Lane, Ardmore). 1921.

Prof. William Dudley Woodhead, McGill University, Montreal, Can. 1920.

*Prof. Willis Patten Woodman, Hobart College, Geneva, N. Y. (808 Main St.). Life member. 1901.

Miss Lillian Allen Woodruff, 26 Elm St., Ashtabula, O. 1925.

Prof. James Haughton Woods, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (16 Prescott Hall). 1923.

Prof. Dorothea Clinton Woodworth, University of California at Los Angeles, Cal. 1929.

*Miss Eunice Work, Wheaton College, Norton, Mass. 1926.

*Prof. Frederick Warren Wright, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. 1910.

Dr. Horace Wetherill Wright, Lehigh University, Bethlehem, Pa. 1918.

*Prof. William Frank Wyatt, 21 Chetwynd Rd., West Somerville, Mass. 1915.

*Prof. Herbert Hilarion Yeames, Hobart College, Geneva, N. Y. 1906.

Mrs. Helen D. Yetter, Perrenoud Apartments, Denver, Col. (Life member). 1921.

Arthur Milton Young, 2903 Diamond St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1923.

*Prof. Clarence Hoffman Young, Columbia University, New York City (312 W. 88th St.). 1890.

Herbert Chayyim Youtie, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. (522 Monroe St.). 1929.

Dr. Charles Hamline Zimmerman, 155 Elm St., New Haven, Conn. 1920.

Living members in the above list, 1076

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CONSTITUTION

OF THE

AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION [1]

Article I.—Name and Object

1. This Society shall be known as "The American Philological Association."
2. Its object shall be the advancement and diffusion of philological knowledge.

Article II.—Officers

1. The officers shall be a President, two Vice-Presidents, a Secretary and Curator, and a Treasurer.
2. There shall be an Executive Committee of twelve, composed of the above officers and seven other members of the Association.
3. All the above officers shall be elected at the last session of each annual meeting.
4. An Assistant Secretary, and an Assistant Treasurer, may be elected at the first session of each annual meeting, on the nomination of the Secretary and the Treasurer respectively.

Article III.—Meetings

1. There shall be an annual meeting of the Association in the city of New York, or at such other place as at a preceding annual meeting shall be determined upon.
2. At the annual meeting, the Executive Committee shall present an annual report of the progress of the Association.
3. The general arrangements of the proceedings of the annual meeting shall be directed by the Executive Committee.
4. Special meetings may be held at the call of the Executive Committee, when and where they may decide.

Article IV.—Members

1. Any lover of philological studies may become a member of the Association by a vote of the Executive Committee and the payment of five dollars as initiation fee, which initiation fee shall be considered the first regular annual fee.
2. There shall be an annual fee of four dollars from each member, failure in payment of which for two years shall *ipso facto* cause the membership to cease.
3. Any person may become a life member of the Association by the payment of fifty dollars to its treasury, and by vote of the Executive Committee.

[1] As amended December 31, 1925.

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Article V.—Sundries

1. All papers intended to be read before the Association must be submitted to the Executive Committee before reading, and their decision regarding such papers shall be final.

2. Publications of the Association, of whatever kind, shall be made only under the authorization of the Executive Committee.

Article VI.—Amendments

Amendments to this Constitution may be made by a vote of two-thirds of those present at any regular meeting subsequent to that in which they have been proposed.

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COMMITTEES AND BUSINESS MATTERS

1. Nominating Committee, established July 8, 1903 (xxxiv, xix, xlvi). One member retires each year after five years of service, and is replaced by a successor named by the President of the Association. The present membership of the committee is as follows:

Samuel Eliot Bassett.
Gordon Jennings Laing.
Henry Rushton Fairclough.
Frank Cole Babbitt.
Clarence Powers Bill.

2. Philological Association of the Pacific Coast. The present terms of affiliation between this Association and the American Philological Association are defined in the articles of agreement adopted by the two Associations in December, 1916 (xlvii, xi f.), and November, 1917 (xlviii, xiv), respectively. The amount per member paid to the American Philological Association is $3.33.

3. Salary of the Secretary and Treasurer. In December, 1923, the Association voted that the salary of the Secretary and Treasurer be fixed at $750, to include any outlay for clerical help; and that the expenses of the Secretary in attending the annual meeting be paid by the Association (liv, xiii).

4. Publication. By vote of the Association (December, 1919), the publication of the annual volume was put in charge of the Secretary (l, xi).

5. Life Memberships. On December 31, 1914, it was voted by the Association that the Treasurer be instructed to fund all sums received for life memberships (xlv, xiv).

6. By vote of the Association (December 28, 1918), no member is entitled to receive the annual volume unless he has paid the dues for the year for which the volume is issued (xlix, vii).

7. American Classical League. By vote of the Association (xlix, viii; liv, xiii), the Executive Committee appoints annually a delegate to the Council of the American Classical League. The delegate for 1930 is John Edmund Barss.

8. American Council of Learned Societies. On December 31, 1919, the Association declared its adherence to the American Council of Learned Societies, which represents North America as a member of the Union Académique Internationale (l, ix–x). The delegates of the Association to the Council are Walton Brooks McDaniel and Clarence Powers Bill.

Walton Brooks McDaniel, senior delegate, has submitted the following report:

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At the Annual Meeting of the American Council of Learned Societies, held in New York City, January 31 to February 1, 1930, the American Anthropological Association was admitted to the list of constituent societies, making their number eighteen. Two delegates from each were present, acting as members of the Corporation. Of the American Philological Association there were in attendance also Campbell Bonner, Carl D. Buck, and M. I. Rostovtzeff as members of the Advisory Board, while Joseph W. Hewitt attended the annual conference of the secretaries of the constituent societies.

Activities approved and supported by the Council and of interest to the members of the A. P. A. were listed in the *Proceedings* last year, p. xciv. Supplementary information follows with a cross-reference where necessary to the corresponding item in that list. The Committee of Management of the Dictionary of American Biography (3) received a subvention for additional editorial assistance. Volumes III and IV have now been published. The Committee on a List of Serial Publications of Foreign Governments (4) reports that the provisional check-lists will probably be completed by the middle of 1930. The Committee on a Catalog of Foreign Manuscripts in American Depositories (5) has now the funds to proceed actively with its labors. The Committee on Research in Native American Indian Languages reported much progress in the collecting of material and some in its publication (6). The Committee on Linguistic and National Stocks in the Population of the United States (7) expects to publish the results of its work by the middle of this year. The Committee on Fellowships and Grants (8) received 131 applications. Forty thousand dollars were made available for Research Fellowships in the Humanities and $20,000.00 for Grants in Aid of Research (8). The fellowships are of the post-doctoral type, such as have been made available in scientific fields by the National Research Council. The basic stipend will be $1800.00 and the tenure is for one year with a possibility of renewal. The Committee on Studies in Indonesian Customary Law (10) reported that research in this field will be instituted in the Philippine Islands during this year. The Committee on the Dictionary of Medieval Latin reported that it had decided to extend the scope of the work to cover the period from 600–1500 A.D. and to make the publication conform to the glossary type rather than to constitute a complete philological and etymological dictionary (11). The Committee on Promotion of Chinese Studies (13) has submitted a detailed plan for its work and has reported on the materials and facilities for Chinese research in the vicinity of Boston. Excellent progress on the Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum is reported from European countries, and one American fascicle has already appeared. The recruiting of scholars to read texts for the Dictionary of Late Medieval British Latin and the work of the readers have gone on successfully during the year. The Linguistic Institute, organized by the Linguistic Society of America, received financial assistance from the funds of the Council in addition to a subvention from the Carnegie Corporation. A Council Committee has been established in the interests of a proposed American school of Indic and Iranian studies to be founded in India. A committee is at work upon a proposed Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada. William A. Heidel, a member of our Association, has completed the manuscript of his

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volume on the Beginnings of Greek Science, a product of his research in the History of Greek Thought for which the Council has secured subventions. The Rockefeller Foundation has provided $75,000.00 for research in Early Latin Paleography. The Council recorded its intention to contribute to the support of excavations in Sumaria in Palestine, proposed by Kirsopp Lake and Robert P. Blake. Grants were given to the following members of the American Philological Association: Nita L. Butler, Assistant Professor in Greek and Latin, Pennsylvania College for Women, for a complete list of wall-paintings in and near Pompeii, with color descriptions and photographs; Frederick M. Carey, Assistant Professor of Greek and Latin, University of California at Los Angeles, for a study of the libraries and scriptoria of Fleury, Reims, and St. Denis; Roy J. Deferrari, Professor of Greek and Latin, Catholic University of America, for a concordance to Ovid; Edith Marion Smith, Professor of Greek and Latin, Hollins College, for a study of the relations of the Phocean colony Massilia to the peoples of Gaul; C. Bradford Welles, Instructor in Classics, Yale University, for a study of the letters, preserved in inscriptions, of the Hellenistic kings; Arthur L. Wheeler, Professor of Latin, Princeton University, for photographs of manuscripts of the *Curculio* and *Epidicus* of Plautus; William Arthur Heidel, Research Professor of Greek Language and Literature, Wesleyan University, for a study of Egyptian influence upon Greek scientific thought.

9. Endowment. The endowment committee, established December 31, 1919 (L, xi), is constituted as follows:

G. A. Plimpton { *Chairman*, *Treasurer*.	Professor John M. Manly.
	Dean Clifford H. Moore.
Professor J. W. Howitt, *Secretary*.	Professor Frank G. Moore.
Dr. Arthur Fairbanks.	Dr. Paul Elmer More.
Professor G. L. Hendrickson.	Professor John C. Rolfe.
Principal Maurice Hutton.	Professor Paul Shorey.

Professor Herbert Weir Smyth.

The regulations governing the use and management of the endowment fund, as adopted by the Association, are found in vol. LIII, p. xii.

10. Abstracts published in the *Proceedings* are limited by vote of the Association (December 31, 1919) to 300 words in length (L, xi).

11. Committee on an International Auxiliary Language, appointed December 30, 1920 (LI, xii):

Professor W. A. Oldfather.	Professor Dean P. Lockwood.
Professor Carl D. Buck.	Dean Clarence W. Mendell.
Professor Roland G. Kent.	Professor H. P. Nutting.

Professor L. J. Paetow.

12. Committee on Publication of Monographs, appointed December 30, 1927 (LVIII, xi):

Professor F. W. Shipley, *Chairman*.	Professor A. M. Harmon.
Professor G. M. Calhoun.	Professor M. B. Ogle.

Professor W. A. Oldfather.

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PUBLICATIONS OF THE ASSOCIATION

The annually published *Transactions* of the American Philological Association give the full text of such papers as the executive committee decides to publish.

The annually published *Proceedings* contain the program and minutes of the annual meeting, brief abstracts of papers read, a record of the publications of members of the Association, lists of its officers and members, brief notes of its most important committees and business matters, and information regarding its publications.

The *Transactions* and *Proceedings* are issued in a single volume. The *Transactions* are not published separately; a few separate copies of the *Proceedings* are available each year.

For the contents of the *Transactions*, volumes I–XXXIV inclusive, see volume XXXIV, pp. cxliii ff.; for XXXV–XLVII, volume XLVII, pp. lxxxviii ff.; for volumes XLVIII–LVIII, volume LIX, pp. xcvi ff. The contents of volume LIX are as follows:

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Liddell, M. H.: *Vocis Flexus*, *Modulatio*, and *Plasma* in Latin Phonology.

Hirst, G.: A Discussion of Some Passages in the Prologue to the *Georgics* (I. 14, 15 and 27).

Sherman, C. L.: The *Constitutio Antoniniana* in the Light of the *Γνώμων τοῦ Ἰδίου Λόγου*.

Sturtevant, E. H.: Some Nouns of Relationship in Lycian and Hittite.

Rebert, H. F.: The Felicity of Infelix in Virgil's *Aeneid*.

Sanford, E. M.: Some Literary Interests of Fifteenth Century German Students.

Messenger, R. E.: Hymns and Sequences of the Sarum Use; an Approach to the Study of Medieval Hymnology.

Anderson, A. R.: Alexander at the Caspian Gates.

Day, John: Phalerum and the Phaleric Wall.

Ogle, M. B.: The Discovery of the Wonder Child.

Leon, H. J.: The Names of the Jews of Ancient Rome.

Robinson, D. M.: A Deed of Sale at Olynthus.

Parry, Milman: The Homeric Gloss: a Study in Word-sense.

Proceedings of the Sixtieth Annual Meeting, New York City, 1928.

Proceedings of the Thirtieth Meeting of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast, 1928.

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The *Proceedings* of the American Philological Association are distributed gratis upon application to the Secretary until they are out of print.

Fifty reprints of articles in the *Transactions*, and twenty reprints of abstracts in the *Proceedings*, are given to the authors for distribution. Additional copies are furnished at cost.

The "Transactions *for*" any given year are not always published in that year. To avoid mistakes in ordering back volumes, please state—not the year of publication, but rather—the year *for* which the *Transactions* are desired, adding also the volume-number, according to the following table:

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"	"	"	1879	"	"	X
"	"	"	1880	"	"	XI
"	"	"	1881	"	"	XII
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"	"	"	1886	"	"	XVII
"	"	"	1887	"	"	XVIII
"	"	"	1888	"	"	XIX
"	"	"	1889	"	"	XX
"	"	"	1890	"	"	XXI
"	"	"	1891	"	"	XXII
"	"	"	1892	"	"	XXIII
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Volumes XLIV, XLV, XLIX–LX may be secured in either paper or red cloth. Volumes XLVI–XLVIII and volume LII can be secured in paper binding only. The price of volumes I–XLIII is $5.00 each in whatever binding is available. Volumes XLIV–XLIX may be secured for $2.50 in paper and $3.00 in cloth binding; volumes L–LVI $3.00, paper, $3.50, cloth; volumes LVII–LX $3.50, paper, $4.00, cloth; volumes V, VI, and VII are out of print. A charge of fifty cents per copy is made for reprints of the indices to volumes XLI–L and seventy-five cents for indices to volumes LI–LX.

Odd volumes will be bound by the Lancaster Press, Lancaster, Pa., at a price to be quoted upon application.

Orders for the publications of the Association should be sent to the Secretary, Joseph William Hewitt, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut. For prices, see above.

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